THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

THE "CITIZENSHIP INSTITUTE" CONDUCTED by the American Youth Congress provided the setting for several momentous pronouncements by adults. The President utilized the occasion for an almost unprecedented blast at a foreign government; Mrs. Roosevelt gave another remarkable display of courage and insight; and John L. Lewis fired another bombardment at the White House. The President, in his attack on the invasion of Finland in particular and the Russian regime in general, used uniquely plain language. By and large he articulated what most Americans have felt and thought since September. But if his remarks were disturbing to Moscow, they were not altogether fortunate even in Washington, less because of their substance than because of their tone. We have argued, as did the President, that loans to Finland do not mean war with Russia; but it is not persuasive to dismiss as "twaddle" the fears of those who dissent, or to tell the generation which must fight a war that it has no right to judgment on issues so deeply related to the war. Mrs. Roosevelt argued Finland's case a good deal more effectively, and she was similarly forthright in facing again the anti-red avalanche which descended on the congress. On this score the President's affirmation of "the right to be a Communist" was welcome; we hope J. Edgar Hoover overheard it.

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TO THE FUTURE OF THE YOUTH CONGRESS the address of John L. Lewis is likely to mean more than the remarks of the Roosevelts. Urging the congress to identify itself with Labor's Non-Partisan League, Lewis made it plain that he is thinking of himself increasingly as a political as well as a labor leader. Before the Youth Congress decides to follow him, we hope it will have a clearer view of his plans and perspectives than he has yet vouchsafed to the rest of the country. Certainly his address to the congress had demagogic overtones which should make caution a watchword. "You listened to the President today," he said. "When you came away you didn't know where to get a job if you needed one." Did Lewis tell them where to get jobs? Condemning the President's advice to the congress, on the ground of its insufficient knowledge, against adopting a resolution opposing loans to Finland, Lewis told his audience that his United Mine Workers, with its maturity and its impressive membership, had adopted a similar resolution. He failed to mention that the miners, unlike the Youth Congress, coupled their denunciation of the loan with an equally vigorous denunciation of the Russian invasion. Finally there was the new "solution" for peace in the labor movement. There is no measuring-rod for sincerity, but the timing, the manner of the offer, and its inherent implausibility add little, in our opinion, to the stature of John L. Lewis.

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ALLIED FORCES IN THE NEAR EAST HAVE been augmented by Australian and New Zealand contingents, believed to number some 30,000, whose arrival in Egypt was greeted with a fanfare of publicity. Almost simultaneously French concentrations in Syria have been copiously reported, and new emphasis has been laid on the growing intimacy of the Allies with the Turks. This last fact has been underlined by the seizure of the Krupp shipyard at Istanbul, the expulsion from Turkey of a number of German specialists, and the increasing coolness toward Russia shown by the Turkish press. It is not surprising, therefore, that there should be talk of an early military move in the Near East. Nevertheless, the immediate significance of the activities there is probably political and diplomatic. They serve as a warning to Balkan powers to resist German pressure, and they also constitute a threat to Russia should it draw still closer to Germany. The Allies seem to be finding it increasingly difficult to regard the U. S. S. R. as strictly neutral but have yet to decide whether they would gain by treating it as an open enemy. Should they take this step and carry Turkey with them, the Caucasus would be the obvious point at which to strike. The seizure of this region would deprive Russia of its chief oil resources and would put an end to all German hopes of obtaining supplies. At the same time it would check any Soviet attempt to move against the Iranian and Iraqui oil fields or in the direction of India.

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BRITAIN'S RELEASE OF NINE OF THE TWENTY-one Germans taken from the Asamu Maru on January 21 was part of a face-saving compromise that revealed

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Japanese quite as much as British weakness. For while London backed down from the strong legal position which it took in its notes to Japan, Tokyo yielded on the substance of its case when it agreed to keep Germans off its ships in the future. Japan's capitulation is the more significant when it is recalled that only a fortnight ago Tokyo was talking of such reprisals as stopping British shipping in Far Eastern waters. The agreement is striking evidence of the desire of the Yonai government to patch up some kind of understanding with the Western powers as an offset to the deterioration of its relations with the Soviet Union. The United States, unfortunately, has not taken advantage of its opportunity. Action on the embargo has been deferred, and nothing more has been heard of the possible imposition of countervailing duties on silk and other imports. The Japanese, for their part, have fluctuated rather violently between pious gestures of friendship for the United States and threats to abrogate the Nine-Power Treaty and drive all Americans out of China. In interpreting these threats, it might be well for people to remember the equally violent recriminatory measures which the Japanese were contemplating against the British only a few weeks ago.

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SOME OF THE STATEMENTS WHICH MARKED the midwinter session of the A. F. of L. Executive Council in Miami are not easy to distinguish from utterances of the National Association of Manufacturers. The council opened by asking Mr. Roosevelt to give business "a breathing spell." Ten of the most prominent superannuated statesmen in the council, including Messrs. Woll and Hutcheson, issued an attack on the New Deal in which there was little that John W. Davis or Alfred E. Smith would not approve. The New Deal was accused of discouraging new investments, imposing too heavy taxation, weakening the authority of the states, and impairing business confidence by maladministration of the Wagner Act. After those statements it mattered little whether John L. Lewis was correct or not in charging that corporation lawyers helped draft the A. F. of L.'s proposed amendments to the Wagner Act. Green called the attack "dastardly," but can hardly deny that the amendments have the approval of corporate interests out to hamstring the labor law. The Executive Council ordered city labor bodies and state federations to suspend all printers' locals because the I. T. U. refused to pay a special assessment to fight the C. I. O. It is worth noting that when the Executive Council and Green are asked to take action of this kind against racketeers in the ranks of labor, they always plead that state and city labor bodies are "autonomous" and beyond their control. The recent meeting of the Executive Council should be truly encouraging—to business, not to labor.

MR. ROOSEVELT HAS DECLARED IT LEGAL FOR Americans to enlist in the Finnish army, but federal agents have arrested eleven men and one woman in Detroit and Milwaukee on a charge of recruiting for the Spanish Loyalists and raided the headquarters of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in New York. Brigade officials were subpoenaed. The President points out the distinction between volunteering for service in Finland and recruiting volunteers, and the distinction is a real one. But the fact is that the State Department did its best to prevent American volunteers from reaching the Loyalists, while the White House is now inviting Americans to join the Finnish army. The action of the FBI will hardly recommend itself to liberals; here as in the Browder case it seems to be looking for technical excuses to implement an anti-red drive. The sweeping way in which the FBI refers to "Communists and reputed fellow-travelers" in announcing the arrests should be a warning, for "reputed fellow-travelers" is an expansive category reminiscent of an old-fashioned Department of Justice pink-hunt.

*

PRESIDENTIAL PARDONS ARE IN ORDER FOR the fourteen men sentenced in Minneapolis on a charge of "conspiracy" in connection with the WPA strike last July. Dwight Macdonald, in an article in our issue of February 3, explained the background of these extraordinary cases. A section of the Woodrum Relief Act of 1939 designed to protect WPA workers from political pressure was twisted into an excuse to indict 157 men and women in Minneapolis who took part in the nation-wide WPA strike last July. In response to widespread protest the federal government dismissed charges against 125 of those indicted, but not before 32 others had been tried and convicted. Fourteen of the thirty-two are men, and these have now been sentenced. Three of them, including the chairman of the federal workers' section of the militant General Drivers' Union, Local 544, were given eighteen months each in a federal workhouse. Fourteen women remain to be sentenced. Despite the Administration's laudable intervention in freeing the 125 defendants, it is difficult to absolve it from responsibility for the prosecutions in the first place. Only a Presidential pardon can clear the slate.

*

NEW YORK'S UNEMPLOYED ARE TO RECEIVE no immediate advantage from the $211,000,000 reserve fund accumulated during the first three years of the state unemployment-insurance law if the recommendations of the state Advisory Council are carried out. The majority of the council felt, with some reason, that the two years in which benefits have been paid have not provided a sufficient test of the scheme. Yet the fact

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that collections were nearly double the payments in 1939, and considerably larger than benefits even in a bad year like 1938, suggests that minor changes reducing the present three-week waiting period and increasing the duration of benefits beyond thirteen weeks might safely have been undertaken. Some increase in benefits is also called for, either this year or in the near future. While it would be dangerous to undermine the reserves that have been accumulated, reserves should not be allowed to continue to grow at the present rate. Money that is subtracted from purchasing power to provide for the unemployed should be used to serve that purpose and not to build up a surplus which may never be required. Employer groups with their eyes on this surplus have introduced bills in both branches of the legislature to set up a system of merit rating. These bills would cut the pay-roll tax from its present flat 3 per cent to a rate varying between one-half of 1 per cent and 3 per cent—the lower rate being granted concerns with a relatively stable employment record. The pressure behind the campaign for merit rating appears to come from a small group of firms with which stable operation is in part the result of monopolistic control. It is being energetically opposed by employers in the seasonal trades, small business men, and a large number of labor organizations.

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NATIONAL SHARE-CROPPERS WEEK, WHICH IS held annually, will take place this year from March 4 to 10. Its immediate objective is to raise money for the annual budget of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, but it is also designed to arouse interest in the problem of the Southern farm workers and to exert pressure for its solution. One of the events scheduled for the week is an essay contest for college students. The subject is "A Proposed Solution to the Share-Cropper Problem," and the winning essay will be printed in *The Nation.* Details may be obtained from the Educators' Committee for National Share-Croppers' Week at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York. Dr. Mary E. Woolley and Dr. Abram Harris are co-chairmen of this committee.

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"IT IS JUST LIKE ONE AVALANCHE AFTER another, each burying the earlier victims deeper and with them some of their rescuers. Many of our most pitiable cases are those of Czechs, formerly, with the French, the most generous of all peoples toward refugees." We quote from a letter from England asking American help for the victims of fascism—Germans, Austrians, Spaniards, Czechs, and Poles—who are now caught in the toils of a European war. Both the governments and the people of Britain and France, now that the war is straining their economic resources, are unable to give as much aid to refugees as formerly. In France thousands of anti-fascist Germans have been consigned to concentration camps. Some have been released, but thousands are still interned, and the conditions under which they live are worse than ever for the ironic reason that many refugee camps have now been taken over for the use of evacués. Money and more money is needed to feed and clothe these people and to obtain their resettlement in other countries, particularly in America.

Police Neutrality

LAST April we printed an article by George Britt which was, we believe, the first comprehensive account of the anti-Semitic campaign waged in the streets of New York by followers of Father Coughlin. Three months later, when the raucousness of the drive was being matched by the reticence of the metropolitan dailies, we published another article, by James Wechsler, which provided an even fuller picture. Mr. Wechsler's story showed the central role of the Christian Front in the street campaign and brought out the seriousness of police partiality toward members of that organization. We said then: "The Christian Front is engaged in daily battles with the unorganized foes of Coughlin; the police are sworn to the impartial enforcement of the law; simultaneous membership in the Front and on the force is therefore incongruous and intolerable. The Front is not a benevolent or religious fraternity. It is a faction of political violence, whose police members constitute an armed fascist nucleus. As such its members should be purged out of the Police Department to the last man." Mayor LaGuardia denied that there had been any partiality, belittled the whole issue, and spoke derisively of "the trend . . . on the part of some people shouting their loudest for freedom of speech to obtain suppression at this time."

Then came the lightning bolt. Seventeen Coughlin men, most of them members of the Christian Front, were arrested and indicted for conspiracy to overthrow the United States government and for stealing arms and munitions from National Guard armories. The question of police membership in the Front was raised again and brought a series of bewildering comments from Police Commissioner Valentine. On January 16 he denied reports that forty members of the force had been identified with the Front. On January 17, confronted with an anonymous letter on Christian Front stationery to the effect that the number was not 40 but 3,423, he told reporters that the real number was unknown and added, "But I doubt if it is as high as the figure stated." On February 8 came the announcement that questionnaires were being distributed to all policemen to determine whether any were members of the Christian Front or of any "subversive, Communist, Bund, or Fascist club or

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organization." "There is nothing to prevent any man from joining any organization," said Valentine, "but the police officer must be neutral. By joining any one of these organizations he ceases to be neutral." That is precisely the point we made last July. We are glad to have it upheld, even at this late date, by the Police Commissioner. Members of both Front and force should be asked to make a choice.

Washington Jitters

IN THE stormy controversy aroused by Congressman Frank Hook's attack on Martin Dies, most of the relevant facts have been obscured. In part the confusion was deliberately created by apologists for Mr. Dies; it has been heightened by the reluctance of liberal Congressmen to defend themselves. For the first time in a two-year career of irresponsible slander Dies had been under serious fire in the Capitol. The exposure of the Christian Front's terrorist plot had posed the embarrassing query: where was Martin Dies when the Front was charting its plans? The answer was devastating. Not merely had the Dies committee "overlooked" the Front; but while ostensibly probing un-American activities, Dies himself had been leading an active public life with the upper-class sympathizers of the Front. He had been speaking at luncheons and conferences and meetings enthusiastically promoted and well attended by the Front and its friends. That disclosure, made in Washington by Congressman Hook and documented in *The Nation* on January 27, put Dies closer to the ropes than he had been in two years. But by shrewdly exploiting the Pelley forgeries Dies's handlers have restored him to an upright position.

The incident is not closed; the most sensational details may be still ahead if liberals will press the point. For one thing, the forged letters purporting to show a compact between Dies and Pelley have no bearing on the relations of Dies with Merwin K. Hart and other figureheads in the fascist network. Moreover, disclosure of the forgeries has created more mystery than it has dispelled. It was subsequently revealed that the man who sold the fake letters was in the employ of the Dies committee. It is reported that a member of the Dies committee knew the letters were forged when Hook introduced them—but did not protest. The resignation of the committee's counsel is announced. A conservative newspaper relates that committee agents attempted to plant a similar set of forgeries on New York foes of Dies; this time it failed. And as a fitting climax, William Dudley Pelley, for whom the committee had allegedly been searching for six months, turns up in Washington, pounds the Dies committee on the back, "absolves" Mr. Dies of any contact with the Silver Shirts, and amiably submits to examination. A number of delicate questions are suggested by this sequence of events. The alarming and significant fact is the reluctance of most people in Washington to ask them. And unless a grand-jury hearing or some other airing of the whole affair can be held, it is possible that the questions will never be asked. Because the Pelley letters were forged, the whole indictment against Dies is in danger of being pigeonholed. Dies and his cohorts have resumed the offensive. The *Herald Tribune* congratulates him on his escape and assures him that he is "happily stronger than ever." Mr. Hook, fighting the battle almost single-handed, is compelled to withdraw not only the Pelley letters but the Front evidence as well—although it is totally independent and has in no way been impugned. Except for a handful of men, liberal Washington shows a passionate anxiety to drop the subject. Why?

It is not because Dies has been vindicated or because of any sudden doubts as to the authenticity of most of the evidence. The data merely dramatized what everybody knew: that while Dies had whitewashed the right, he was persecuting the left. For left read New Deal. The real reason for the deadly silence was voiced by Congressman Casey at the now celebrated Jackson dinner: "no matter what evidence you have, you can't stop Martin Dies." If the comment was cynical it nevertheless expressed the mood of contemporary Washington. That mood is now Dies's greatest ally.

The truth is that Martin Dies is a ham actor impersonating a statesman. He lacks Huey Long's rhetorical thunder, Coughlin's hypnotic power; he is cordially detested by conservative Congressmen; his chief talent is the elementary shrewdness of a John Garner. The simple secret of his success is that he is a symbol unifying the right—and splitting the left. He has achieved incredible power because in one way or another he crudely expresses the basic drives of every right-wing group; and he has escaped reprisal by dividing and demoralizing his enemies. The last fortnight has revealed these twin tactics more clearly then ever.

The men who should be fighting him have been mute. Prominent labor leaders have remained silent in the hope that he will reciprocate by leaving them alone; liberals in Congress and elsewhere have tried to "work with" him by sacrificing the Communists, in the hope that liberals will thereby be pardoned; prominent Jewish groups have helped his attack on the left in the hope that he will not become anti-Semitic; a host of his potential foes have thus refrained from criticism in the hope that he will gratefully ignore their existence. We do not question the motives or minimize the anxieties of these groups. The drift is to the right. Liberal Congressmen must run for reelection, too. But all of them have misunderstood the nature of the Dies campaign. They have seen it as a seasonal deluge or as a one-man promotion

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drive. Basically it is neither. It is the agency of a formidable reactionary coalition, working overtime in every area. If "public opinion" today supports Dies, that is evidence of liberal failure; will opinion be less favorable to Dies next year—after twelve more months of timidity and silence?

The Nation makes no apologies to Martin Dies. We willingly strike the Pelley letters from our records; but we reiterate that these were only one aspect of a much larger case—and the bulk of that case still stands. We are convinced that further investigation of the Dies-Hart axis will strengthen an already substantial record; we believe that the Pelley affair is full of significant question marks. Martin Dies is still the defendant, not the prosecutor.

Housing Is Wealth

HOUSING is not the most dramatic of the public questions facing American democracy in an election year, but it is certainly among the most important. Moreover, it is closely entwined with a host of other problems for which solutions must be found if our social and political institutions are to be buttressed by higher standards of general well-being. We know the toll levied by sickness in the form of misery and economic waste; we know the high cost of crime; we know the financial straits in which most of our cities are involved. These are only some of the ills that can be directly traced to the growth of slums, to lack of civic planning, and to the aftermath of a century of land speculation. Housing is also directly connected with the major problem of recovery and the conquest of unemployment. There is general agreement about the necessity for providing investment outlets able to absorb the total volume of savings if our economy is to be kept on an even keel. But today residential building accounts for far less capital expenditure than it did in the twenties. Yet the need is greater, for the new homes built in the past ten years have been hardly sufficient to make up for wastage, let alone furnish accommodation for the eight millions which have been added to the population since 1930.

According to evidence presented by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to the TNEC, the minimum number of houses required annually to keep facilities from falling below present standards is 525,000. Last year's output was the best in a decade, but the total of dwelling units completed is estimated by the Federal Housing Administration at only 450,000. This was more than 100,000 better than in 1938 but it compares with 509,000 in 1929, which was itself a poor year for residential building compared with the middle twenties. On the basis of FHA mortgage-insurance applications the current year is expected to show some improvement over 1939, but it will be surprising if total construction reaches the minimum cited above.

Unsatisfactory as this record is, it would be still worse if the housing field had been left solely to the mercy of private enterprise. Some 40 per cent of current residential building is being financed with the aid of the FHA, which has now insured mortgages aggregating over two billion dollars. By abolishing second mortgages, reducing the cost of home financing—though not enough—insisting on regular amortization, and enforcing minimum quality standards, the FHA has done much to reduce the gamble of home ownership. It must always be recognized, however, that its activities have no direct bearing on the problem of providing more and better shelter for the ill-housed "one third of a nation." Its services are of value mainly to the middle classes, and even the large-scale rental housing projects for which it is now giving mortgage insurance will be far beyond the reach of really low-income families. Private enterprise has long abandoned all pretense of being able to supply new housing for the millions now forced to live under sub-standard conditions. Whatever is being done in this field is the work of federal, state, and city agencies, and in relation to the need it is still precious little. According to the February Bulletin of the Federal Reserve only 10 per cent of the residential construction begun in 1939 was publicly financed. The United States Housing Authority, which lends local public bodies up to 90 per cent of the cost of low-rent housing and slum-clearance schemes, and in addition provides 80 per cent of the annual subsidy required to bring rents within the means of the families rehoused, has fully allotted the $800,000,000 it had at its disposal, although not all of this sum is yet spent. It has an unfilled demand for an additional billion dollars, but Congress has not yet seen fit to authorize the doubling of its loan funds as requested by the President last year.

If the job that is being done by USHA is to be extended—and unless it is, vast areas of our cities will remain blighted areas—public opinion must be roused to impress upon all candidates for public office the real economy of public investment in housing. The *Survey Graphic* in the third of its "Calling America" series, just issued, furnishes a rich storehouse of ammunition for housing reformers. Here are the records written by experts of what has been done in the past few years and a chart of the much vaster area of ground which has still to be covered. As Albert Mayer, editor of this special issue, says, housing and planning, urban and rural, offer a generation of activity for our job-starved economy. "They can supply reemployment steadily over a long period of years to come, carrying forward a task that is both a national economic measure and a national crusade. With ample room for private and public enterprise, they will create real wealth and values that are lasting."

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Politics and Peace

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

YOU can't blame the belligerents for feeling concerned and suspicious about Sumner Welles's coming visit to Europe and the announcement that talks between the United States and certain neutrals have been under way for some time. Rumor cannot be stilled by Presidential fiat.

The reception of the news was itself illuminating. It shows that at this stage of the war no suggestion of mediation or any sort of diplomatic intervention will be welcome. The position of the Allied goverments has, in their opinion, been made sufficiently clear: they have said that they intend to end Hitlerism and prevent a recurrence of the Nazi threat to Europe's peace. Any proposal of a negotiated settlement before this aim has been achieved would weaken their hand and strengthen the pro-appeasement forces in each country—fascists, Communists, pacifists, and hold-over Munichеers.

Their suspicion is inevitable, but I believe it is not justified by the facts. Looked at from the angle of American political realities and not from that of European diplomacy, Mr. Roosevelt's reassurance and Mr. Hull's explanation seem wholly believable. This does not mean that the peace talks and Mr. Welles's junket lack intrinsic importance. On the contrary they prove beyond argument the determination of the United States to play a leading role in the negotiation and planning of Europe's peace, whether the belligerents like it or not. And this is a fact of transcendent significance. But they do not prove any intention to try to bring about an immediate settlement in disregard of the interests of the Allies.

Europeans would save themselves a lot of useless speculation if they would repeat to themselves every morning. "This is a Presidential year in the United States. Everything that happens there must be judged in the context of the campaign." In the light of this dictum recent Administration moves fall into their proper place. No serious peace offensive would be launched even if the President favored it; it would harbor too many political dangers. On the other hand, a modest gesture in the direction of peace may rally support to an Administration faced with the charge of "war-mongering."

This dictum should be memorized in Finland in particular. Otherwise that beleaguered country may be misled by the vociferous sympathy of Americans and their protestations of love for democracy. Those emotions exist in full measure, along with a growing antipathy for Russia, as Mr. Roosevelt proclaimed last Saturday. But they are not going to be translated directly into anti-aircraft guns or pursuit planes, because they are only part of a much more complex emotional compound made up of such other ingredients as isolationist sentiment, timidity, pacifism, and suspicion of the British. The President has gone as far as he dared by proposing that Congress expand the resources of the Export-Import Bank to cover a $20,000,000 loan to Finland for non-military purchases in the United States. The bill embodying this measure has been reported favorably in the Senate and may have been passed by the time these lines are read. The Administration is simultaneously exploring the possibility of selling off surplus war materials to such non-belligerents as Norway and Sweden. Presumably the Finns can take their loan and buy goods that will be acceptable in Norway and Sweden and then make a swap on foreign soil where no American isolationist will be outraged by what is going on. This maneuver might puzzle a literal-minded Finn unless he repeated to himself the dictum set down in the last paragraph. Then all would come clear.

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Time Against Finland

BY LELAND STOWE

Helsinki, January 14

I AM starting to write during an air-raid alarm. The bellboy and chambermaids have been trying to shoo us all downstairs. They always try, though they should realize by now that the newspapermen have little use for the so-called shelters. We like to have a chance of seeing the Russian planes, which rarely come near Helsinki's center—once a week perhaps—and are very seldom within eyesight. Sitting in a cellar waiting for a "recall" is moreover a terrible waste of time. And time here is precious. Before the end of March everything may be over.

Considering the magnificent victories that the Finnish troops have won during six weeks of war, that may sound queer. It is neither queer nor false. This war can be lost before the snows begin to thin. But it won't be lost by the Finns alone, any more than the Spanish war was just a defeat for Spaniards. If it is lost it will be lost by Swedes, Norwegians, Frenchmen, Englishmen—yes, and by Americans; in short, by all democracies that want Finland to be saved yet fail to ship airplanes, anti-aircraft guns, and munitions here quickly enough to prevent disaster. Relief for evacués is one of the last things Finland needs. As one Finnish woman expressed it, "We can't throw cabbages at the Bolshevists, and if we did they would only pick them up and eat them." If you want to help a man who is being beaten senseless with a club, you don't hand him a roll of bandages and a bottle of iodine.

I am reminded of a scene somewhere in Lapland. A boy is sitting at a table in the kitchen of a tiny farmhouse. His eyes look tired, his cheekbones protrude, but his slender figure is wiry. They say he is only sixteen. He looks older. For weeks he has skiied twenty or thirty miles a day through wild forests, carrying army dispatches between isolated front-line companies near the border. Because he is doing this work, one more adult is carrying a gun, but this kind of skiing takes a heavy toll. He is writing a letter home with a fierce intensity. "I don't count on any outside help," writes the boy, "but if it comes in spite of everything, then I will know that all decency hasn't gone out of this world of barbarism."

There are many boys like him, holding the pass while others weigh and ponder what kind of help carries the fewest risks.

The Finns have done wonders taking care of themselves and fighting their own war. They have stopped the Red Army dead in its tracks on the Karelian Isthmus. They have destroyed three divisions—it may soon be four—and thrown the Russians back with enormous losses at every vital point on the 750-mile eastern front. But Stalin knows—and so do the Finns—that the day of reckoning lies ahead, when the snows melt.

What has been the secret of the Finns' successes up to now? Three things chiefly: an élite of skilled officers, exceptionally intelligent and very clever in their use of military strategy; a splendidly organized and disciplined little army; and snow and ice. Without this near-Arctic winter the Finnish victories could not have been so great. When the snow is gone, Finland's defense will be infinitely more difficult. Stalin's hour of vengeance will then come. It will not be long delayed—till April at the latest. Then Soviet Russia's terrific superiority in both man power and material will render more of these amazing fox-terrier triumphs almost impossible, unless the Finns get many airplanes and many cannon very soon.

The Spanish Republicans had no army, and made one while fighting. The Finns have an army—officers, a limited number of men, organization. With pitifully meager supplies the Loyalists fought on for more than two years, always drawing on their great reservoir of man power. With a population of 3,800,000 the Finns can call on only a few hundred thousand men, but they can still wage war, with science and masterly strategy, if only they can get arms, guns, and planes in abundance. That might even up matters for a few weeks or months. Eventually, nothing less than large bodies of international volunteers can make possible a complete repulse of the Soviet invaders. The Russo-Finnish war must either come to a comparatively early end or become the responsibility in increasing measure of others than the Finns.

Field Marshal Mannerheim is a tactician of remarkable ability. His generals and superior officers are all veterans of Finland's war of independence (1918) against the Reds. Many of them also received expert Prussian training for two years or more in the Kaiser's Germany during the World War. They are hard-headed, severely efficient officers. There is little that is democratic in their bearing or psychology, yet by some irony they are fighting with great tenacity for a democracy which is theirs by blood and circumstance if not as a spiritual heritage. This officers' corps is an inner autocracy, but it is shaped by the uncompromising individualism and fierce love of liberty of the Finns. The courage and patriotic devotion of the common soldiers know no superior anywhere in the world.

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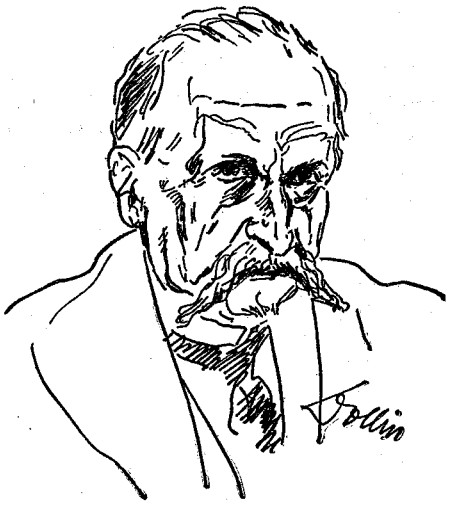
These characteristics go far to explain the Finns' great achievements in the early weeks of the war. But they do not explain it entirely. Even without the barriers of winter the Russians would probably have been stopped by the excellent Finnish fortifications on the Karelian Isthmus. Had the invasion come in the spring the story would have been very different along the extended eastern frontier. Motorized Russian troops would have advanced there with far greater swiftness and would have been backed up by much larger forces of reserves. For example, the two Red divisions which the Finns destroyed near Suomussalmi owed their annihilation chiefly to the fact that the deep snow enabled small detachments of Finnish ski troops to encircle them and attack them in isolated sectors.



President Kallio

In the spring this greater mobility of the Finnish troops, which are numerically much inferior, will not exist in anything like the same degree, A Finnish soldier will no longer be able to do the work of two or three men, as he is now doing. No friend of the Finns can afford to conceal this fact from friendly opinion in the neutral countries. In a few months the point will be reached where the Finns will have fulfilled their responsibilities to the full extent of their powers. Time will not wait for others to fulfil theirs. In this respect the Russo-Finnish conflict is not at all like the war in Spain.

The air-raid alarm was not a dud this time; Helsinki's port was bombarded and people were killed and wounded. The Red bombers are becoming more and more effective. It is said that political commissars are now flying in the planes to make sure that their crews make a serious effort to do their jobs thoroughly. That may partly explain the increasing damage that is being done from the air. In any case, Soviet raiders are confidently expected to come in unprecedented numbers with the fair skies of March. Then the rear guard will be harassed and tortured from one end of southern and central Finland to the other.

This is not being defeatist, for if the Finns received 100 first-class fighting planes, they would be able to counter-attack the Red bombers at vital points. Confronted by 200 Finnish planes, the Soviet pilots would suddenly have the novel experience of risking their lives when they soared over the interior of Finland, especially since fighting planes cannot accompany the Red bombers much farther than across the Gulf of Finland. Now the Russians bomb with impunity—it is not war, merely destruction—for the Finns have only enough planes to use in the war zones where they are most urgently needed. Military observers here say that the Soviet machines have a "blind spot"—Finnish pilots have already brought down scores as a result—and that good modern fighters or chasers would make mince pie of the bombers. They speculate on what might happen to the morale of the Russian air force if it were to lose several planes per squadron on almost every flight.

Foreigners here cannot but be struck by the devotion, courage, and national unity of the Finns. They are a people of sober virtues. They stand on their own feet and they know how to die. We have learned that the Finns can be incredibly stubborn, that they have an almost Prussian love of order, and that they revere regulations to a degree almost incomprehensible to an American. Sometimes one wishes that they were not quite so solemn, so deadly in earnest about everything they do, that they had that gift for laughter and gaiety with which the Spaniard makes even his most tragic moments bearable. The Finns are the children of the frozen North, and they do things in their own way and at their own pace. They believe in their own way of life, their own kind of democracy, and have the deepest respect for the liberty of the individual.

This Finnish democracy is economic as well as political. Many socialistic threads are woven into its fabric. Within its framework hundreds of cooperatives are firmly established. The Finnish state owns more than a third of the land's gigantic forests, and has actively participated in the creation of its electric power stations. There is much here which any foe of the New Deal would describe as "red," or certainly "pink," but to the level-headed Finns these things are simply sane and rational democratic policies. The Finns are being championed now, in America and elsewhere, by hundreds of organizations and thousands of persons who would denounce many established Finnish practices as "socialistic menaces" if they were to encounter them at home. The Finns have found countless friends who have little or no faith in what the Finns believe in and no conception of what Finnish democracy really is. This is one of the neatest ironies of our crazy, contradictory times.

Of course, it doesn't matter. What matters is that Finland, in twenty short years, has built an exceptionally genuine democracy. The preservation of this democracy is of immeasurable importance for the world. Between now and April we shall see whether those who profess to be its friends are going to abandon it to its impending fate.

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Marxism Reconsidered—I

BY LEWIS COREY

THE MARXIST FAILURE

HISTORY has played one of her stupefying tricks: for it is now clear that democracy is on the defensive as much against the totalitarianism of Russian communism as against that of fascism. And since socialism without democracy is a monstrosity, socialism too is on the defensive. Nor can the Communist parties escape being enemies of socialism and democracy, for as carriers of Communist totalitarianism and as "transmission belts" of the Kremlin's foreign policy they must act in disregard of the democratic and socialist interests of the countries in which they operate. What has happened is the collapse of a whole movement and ideology, the exposure of a whole conception of social change.

Out of the resulting disillusionment and the breaking of old allegiances comes the cry for a regrouping of radical forces. But on what basis shall such a regrouping take place? Certainly not on the basis of what communism was before the Stalin-Hitler pact. Stalinism was the enemy of socialism and democracy in its earlier years—the red years of the consolidation of totalitarian power and the black years of "confessional" trials and purges. Regrouping on the basis of Lenin's communism? But Stalinism, being neither mere Bonapartist reaction nor an immaculate conception, must have been at least potential in the communism of Lenin. And as long as independent communists cling to that older communism which unloosed "socialist" totalitarianism, they cannot serve to regroup the radical forces.

Nor can social democracy. For years the Social Democratic parties, by and large, have been fighting rear-guard actions in a long retreat. The retreat was most disastrous in post-war Germany, where a social democracy which had made no effort to move toward socialism when it was in power was unable effectively to resist fascism and was destroyed. The tragedy of the Russian Revolution is matched by the failure of European social democracy, especially the German, to bring into being the democratic socialism which it urged against bolshevism and which would have saved Europe from the totalitarian danger. Yet social democracy admits to no crucial error in principles or tactics. It blames its disasters on history or on communism or fascism but never on itself, and warms over the stale theoretical tidbits of yesterday. In comparison with communism, the failure of social democracy is decent and clean because it has not become the totalitarian destroyer of its own aims and ideals, but it is a failure none the less.

The bitter admission must be made that all variants of Marxism, "revolutionary" and "reformist," meeting the pragmatic test of history, have revealed fatal shortcomings. Diehard sectarians will argue that Marxism never had a chance because it was always distorted or betrayed, just as diehard liberals argue that capitalism never had a chance; but the sectarian argument is self-answering since it means that all Marxists are distorters or betrayers except the newest crop of simon pures, and that is exegetical madness. Yes, all variants of Marxism are a failure. If non-Marxist radicals gloat over this admission, let me remind them that they too have got nowhere, and they too are on the defensive against totalitarianism.

But if the admission of failure is made, then a tremendous job of revaluation is necessary. The job should be done in all humility—we have been wrong and may be wrong again—but it must be done fearlessly and vigorously, and quickly too, for our time is not unlimited.

We must accept and reject, unlearn, relearn, and learn anew regardless of vested interests in old activity and ideas. A new language and a new approach are necessary: the abandonment of ideas, phrases, procedures which are now meaningless or have come to mean the opposite of what we thought they meant. All this means a cooperative job of charting new departures and directions in the struggle for a desirable social order.

The job cannot be done by going "back to Marx." It cannot be done by "revision" or "restoration" of his ideas. The older revisionism led nowhere, while Lenin's restoration led to totalitarianism. We must square our accounts with Marx. The Darwin of the social sciences, Marx met the same misfortune as the natural scientist, that of having a system built on his ideas. Systematic Darwinism had a "Darwinian" explanation for everything, including society, much as systematic Marxism "explains" nature; not until scientists broke the systematic fetters were they able to accept or reject Darwin's ideas, fit the accepted ideas into the sciences, and go beyond Darwin.

So with Marx. All his creative originality was congealed into a system which had a "Marxist" explanation for everything, which strengthened the Hegelian hangovers in Marx instead of destroying them in favor of his critical realism, and which was unjust to Marx himself because the system denied his emphasis on the historical relativity of ideas. The more the system stifled creative growth and fed upon exegetical husks, the more arrogantly authoritarian it became. One logical outcome is

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the use of Marxism as an opiate for the masses in Russia, where Marx and Lenin—and Stalin too—are godheads of a political religion in which the dialectic plays the mystic part of Holy Ghost and interpretations are decided by the brute force of those in power. We cannot blame the degeneration of systematic Marxism upon Marx, who once said, "Thank God, I am no Marxist!" But the degeneration is there, and it is one more reason for discarding the system.

Yet it is the system that "gets" newcomers to Marxism. They forget that systematic Marxism was always largely an ideology, and that it is now nothing but ideology for the authoritarian masters of Marxism, who use it to justify whatever they want to do. Newcomers are apt to emphasize those ideas of Marx which should be discarded or modified on the basis of historical relativity and experience, and which prevent independent, creative use of the sound ideas. We must make an approach to Marx that freely accepts or rejects his ideas, regardless of the systematic strait-jacket, fit the accepted ideas into today's climate of opinion and needs, and go beyond Marx to new explorations and syntheses.

It should be remembered, however, that most criticisms of Marx have been capitalist apologetics. Marx has more often proved to be right than his critics, largely because of his emphasis on the driving force of change in a capitalism which the critics considered eternal; his predictive economic analyses are now verified by capitalist transformation and decline. Break the systematic fetters and apply the principle of the historical relativity of ideas, and Marx again becomes a stimulus to all minds intent on radical social change.

SOCIALISM INTO TOTALITARIANISM

With systematic Marxism must go many of the specific ideas of Marx. Among them are his revolutionary tactics in relation to democracy, which were worked out in the backward Europe of the 1840's and 50's. The tactics were Jacobinism with a proletarian twist: Communists must use the bourgeois democratic revolution to seize power and set up a dictatorship of the proletariat. Those tactics were later rejected by European socialism because their historical basis, the democratic revolution, was gone by. Revolutionary Marxism was suspended in the air. It was condemned to sectarian futility, to interpretation of democracy as dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (which makes Jacksonian democracy and fascism the same and justifies proletarian dictatorship), and to the invention of plans to circumvent democracy. The Marxist tactics came to life only in Russia, where the bourgeois democratic revolution gave Lenin the chance to apply them, with the result that "left" Marxists flocked to bolshevism in 1917-20, unaware of its historical limitations.

Much of what Lenin did might have astonished Marx, but many of the results of his Marxist tactics caught Lenin unaware. Both of them believed that the tactics of proletarian dictatorship meant "completion" of the democratic revolution in a socialist democracy. But in practice the tactics led to totalitarianism. This result cannot be attributed simply to the backwardness of Russia. There was in Russia, to be sure, hardly any class-economic basis for socialism and not enough experience of democracy to make socialism democratic, but the revolution itself unloosed mighty democratic forces. These were destroyed by proletarian dictatorship, whose "temporary" suppression of democracy, it is now clear, becomes institutional and creates vested interests opposed to democracy. Lenin saw some of the dangers, but his administrative measures to encourage democracy without allowing real democracy were a failure. And those who called for "workers' democracy" while accepting dictatorship were playing with words, because limiting democracy to "the workers" means, in the end, democracy for nobody. Proletarian dictatorship brought results the opposite of what Marx and Lenin had dreamed.

Suppression of democracy forced the Bolshevik dictatorship to depend increasingly upon the political, cultural, and moral heritage of Russian backwardness—feudal-Asiatic despotism, terrorism, servility, fear—in addition to new reactionary forces created by the dictatorship itself. Lenin, in the final years of his life, waged a titan's fight on what he called the "czaristic" nature of the Soviet state—and left an essentially totalitarian regime. The end-product is Stalinist totalitarianism, whose Byzantine spirit is expressed in the typical ravings of a Stalinist poet: "I live, I love, I beget children, all thanks to thee, great educator Stalin!" Communist and fascist dictatorships start from opposite premises to arrive at the same totalitarianism because of their suppression of democracy. The original class-economic differences are blurred if not destroyed by the self-interest and power politics of totalitarian dictatorship, which becomes independent of democratic pressures and ideas.

But that is by no means the whole story. Another significant fact must be considered. There is in totalitarian Russia, by and large, a socialist economic set-up—collective ownership, no capitalist property or profit. Yet traditional socialism always identified that set-up with democracy. This has led to all sorts of theoretical hocus-pocus. If the economic basis is socialist, some say, the resultant must be socialism; and Stalinist totalitarianism, they conclude, is a "higher form" of democracy. If the resultant is not democratic socialism, say others, the economic basis cannot be socialist; and traditional socialism washes its hands of the whole business.

Actually the situation is this: *the socialist system of collective ownership is compatible with totalitarianism.* It is, in fact, the basis of a new, all-devouring totalitarianism because of the new element of political centralization of all economic power.

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But if the system of collective ownership may be the basis of totalitarianism, then the system in itself is not socialism. Collective ownership is socialist only if it promotes greater democracy and freedom. To argue the contrary is vulgar economic determinism, which distorts history—and our understanding of ends and means—by overemphasis on the economic factor, for any particular economic organization of society is capable of many superstructural variations. While collective ownership *may* result in socialism, the evidence now is overwhelming that it may also result in totalitarianism. And overemphasis on the economic factor in socialism leads to the most fantastic conclusions. Thus the *Socialist Appeal,* the American Trotskyist organ, argues that since "the Soviet Union remains, despite the Kremlin gang, upon the economic foundations laid down by the October Revolution," the invasion of Finland is justified, and "it is the duty of the Finnish workers to be Soviet partisans." That is determinist logic gone mad. It shows no awareness of the profound implications for socialist ends and means in the fact that totalitarianism and collective ownership are compatible.

Denunciations of Stalinism are not enough. Nor is it enough to say that a socialist economy must operate under democratic conditions. We cannot thus easily dispose of the disturbing conclusion that collective ownership is compatible with totalitarianism. The situation becomes still more disturbing if we draw, as I now think we must, another conclusion: *there is a totalitarian potential in the socialist economic system.* Russian communism exploits the potential but did not create it.

Here is a problem of which traditional socialism and Marxism were never fully aware, if they were aware of it at all. They took it for granted that socialism meant a higher democracy, and impatiently dismissed all arguments to the contrary—including the suggestive ideas of syndicalism and guild socialism. But taking things for granted in social dynamics spells trouble. We need a clearer understanding of democracy and its relation to socialism.

ACCENT ON DEMOCRACY

Democracy is always specific, never general. And it is always specific historical forces that make for democracy. What are those forces under capitalism? There are the separation of economic and political power—against whose feudal combination the early bourgeoisie fought—expressed in the theory of "that state is best which governs least"; the relatively widespread ownership of productive property, with its many independent sources of livelihood and a middle class of small independent enterprisers whose struggles against big property invigorated democracy; the free market and free competition, the spirit of which spread from the economic to the political and intellectual spheres in the democratic expression of conflicting class interests and ideas; and the independence of organizations in relation to the state (freedom of association), including labor unions whose whole drive was toward democracy. All these forces, many of which worked in an automatic fashion, insured at least a minimum of democracy under progressive capitalism.

These specific democratic forces are suppressed by a socialist system of collective ownership, especially if it is all-inclusive. The system means nationalization and planning, under which there is no automatic working of economic forces. It means the combination of economic and political power in an all-powerful state, under a bureaucracy with a monopoly control of the sources of livelihood. This in turn may mean the end of the independence of organizations, including labor unions, in relation to the state. There clearly is a totalitarian potential in such a set-up, which drives toward suppression of democracy even without dictatorship. Traditional socialism has always insisted that collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is economic democracy. It now appears, however, that the democracy is only potential. If the historical forces of democracy under capitalism are suppressed, new forces must be set in motion to insure democracy under socialism. Collective ownership, far from being enough, even tends in the totalitarian direction. The democratic potential of socialism, which may broaden and deepen democracy by destroying oligarchical economic controls, can be released only if the appropriate institutional arrangements are created to make the new collective controls democratic.

Again I suggest that non-Marxist radicals do not gloat. They may, in an "I told you so" spirit, cite Herbert Spencer's prophecy of "the coming slavery." But that prophecy arose out of a social Darwinism that is now exploded. They may use the admission of a totalitarian potential in socialism to argue, in a "let well enough alone" spirit, the merits of capitalist democracy. But that democracy was always limited, and it is now everywhere endangered by structural changes in capitalism which react against democracy. For the specific historical forces that gave life to capitalist democracy are passing away. They are not bound up with capitalism in general but with the specific competitive capitalism which has been replaced by monopoly capitalism. New democratic forces are not being created as the old ones pass away.

The "immutable" laws of the free market and free competition are wrecked by monopoly capitalism. Monopoly has severely limited the widespread ownership of independent productive property, which was one of the sturdier supports of democracy. Separation of economic and political power is breaking down under pressure of increasing state controls over economic activity; the controls arise partly out of the complexities of monopoly capitalism and partly out of capitalist inability to solve the economic crisis. Bureaucratic dangers multiply as the

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swollen state bureaucracy combines with the bureaucracy of corporate industry. The independence of organizations, especially labor unions, is constantly threatened. And the harassed middle class of small independent enterprisers tends to abandon its earlier democratic ideals in its increasingly desperate struggle for security and survival.

Capitalism is suppressing its own democratic forces. Fascism may complete the process. And what if fascism moves from ruthless regulation and limitation of capitalist property and profit to expropriation and nationalization? Ideological differences between fascism and communism would then mask the complete identity of a system neither capitalist nor socialist, in which a new bureaucratic ruling class uses economic collectivism as the basis of a new tyranny. And the differences themselves would merge, as they are already merging, in an identical totalitarian ideology.

Totalitarian dictatorships did not create the collectivism which is their economic basis. Collectivism is the product of modern industry. With its need for far-flung organization, bureaucracy, and planning, collectivism has a definite totalitarian potential—which carries over to socialism. From collectivism stem the increasing economic powers of government: the efforts, reactionary or progressive, to fashion new social controls for a collectivism that makes unworkable old institutions and ideas. There are totalitarian dangers in the situation. They lie in an indiscriminate multiplication of state powers, without democratic safeguards, that inflate bureaucracy and provide it with the means of becoming totalitarianism; in halfway measures that discredit democracy because they fail to solve the economic crisis and so provoke the desperation of capitalist reaction, fascism or communism. Collectivism is forcing readjustments that are transforming capitalism. The real radical job, as it now shapes up, is to democratize an economic collectivism that is inescapable and that may become the basis of a new totalitarianism.

The accent is on democracy. Yet if it is true that the economic readjustments of socialism must build upon democratic procedures and values to escape totalitarianism, it is equally true that democracy can escape totalitarianism only if it builds upon those readjustments. In that unity is the re-creation of democracy and socialism. They must join in the struggle for a cooperative commonwealth whose economic arrangement promotes freedom, individual dignity, and tolerance, and at the same time solves the economic problem. We are all doomed, whatever our democratic creed, if we do not grasp the meaning of the new situation.

[*In next week's issue Mr. Corey will discuss ways of achieving and maintaining a more democratic economic order without the sacrifice of political democracy.*]

Lewis, Roosevelt, and the U. M. W.

BY ROSE M. STEIN

Columbus, Ohio, February 2

THE failure of trade unionism to cope with the problem of unemployment was the undercurrent that ran through the miners' golden jubilee, held here in the birthplace of the United Mine Workers of America. Started fifty years ago with fewer than 20,000 members and only $139 in the treasury, the U. M. W. is now the largest and most powerful labor union in the world. It has 612,000 members. More than 90 per cent of the industry is under contract and check-off. It has a substantial treasury—$2,500,000—notwithstanding the heavy drain upon its funds caused by advances to new unions and the six-week work stoppage during the 1939 contract negotiations. Existing contracts run to 1941, thereby assuring in the normal course of events a continuous flow of income for more than a year. The union has stood the test of time and strain. It has had to surmount every possible obstacle: discrimination, discharge, black list, yellow-dog contracts, strikes, lockouts—long and bitter struggles with their accompanying evictions, hunger, bloody riots, terror of company police. Miners have gone to jail, fought, starved, and died so that the union might live. It has lived through good times and bad, wars, panics, dualism, factionalism, and above all through the vicissitudes incident to an anarchic and very sick industry.

As a trade union the United Mine Workers has reached the pinnacle of success. It has strength, prestige, resources, competent leadership, a loyal and disciplined rank and file. It has improved immeasurably the lot of its members. It has not only increased wage rates and bettered working conditions, but it has wiped out a thousand and one infringements of the miners' liberties. It has forced the recognition that the mining camps are part of the United States, with all the rights and privileges which that inclusion confers.

But with all these gains, the balance sheet shows the miners still in the red. The industry continues to ail. According to figures compiled by the Bituminous Coal Division of the Department of Interior there is a net average loss of eleven cents on every ton of coal mined

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and marketed. Under these circumstances the union will find it difficult to ask for upward wage adjustments when the contract comes up for renewal. The present base rate for a seven-hour day is $6 in the North and $5.60 in the South. On a tonnage basis it is possible to earn more than the base rate. This is a long way from the $1.50 for a ten-hour day that obtained when the union was first organized. It is likewise a long way from the millennium. As long as the miners cannot expect an average of even two hundred work days a year, their annual earnings remain below the requirement for health and efficiency. Partial unemployment and a low standard of living are their constant problems, and the situation threatens to get worse as other fuels reduce the amount of coal used.

Protection against mine hazards, which miners have been fighting for since the very early days of organization, is not only still inadequate but incommensurate with available safety devices. Every million tons of coal mined exacts a toll of three lives and approximately two hundred injuries. There was a time, as one of the veterans at the convention testified, "when it was cheaper for an employer to lose a worker than a mule." Great strides toward safety have been made, but the situation is still bad when it is possible to have such a disaster as occurred recently in Bartley, West Virginia, in which ninety-one lives were lost. For years the miners have been asking for a federal inspection law, and this is still being fought by the operators, who, according to Mr. Lewis, "seemingly have demanded through the years as one of their inalienable rights the right to kill and butcher coal miners rather than make the mines safe, because it costs money to make them safe."

These problems, particularly unemployment, cannot be settled through collective bargaining alone. They demand effective government action, and the government's persistent failure adequately to cope with them called forth Mr. Lewis's much-discussed political tirade:

> As the current year opens, the Democratic Party is in default to the American people. After seven years of power it finds itself without solution for the major questions of unemployment, low national income, mounting internal debt, increasing direct and consumer taxation, and restricted foreign markets. There still exists the same national unhappiness that it faced seven years ago.

There is nothing equivocal about this statement. Nor does it give a false picture. Can anyone contend that the Democratic Party *does* have a solution for unemployment, low income, mounting internal debt? The statement tells the truth, but for all that it is unfortunate. It is unfortunate because a responsible leader ought not to make a statement of this sort unless he is prepared to carry its obvious implications to their logical conclusions. It is a statement appropriate for Norman Thomas to make, not for John L. Lewis. Mr. Lewis has not gone Socialist. He has not broken with capitalism. He has not even reached the stage of seeking independent political action. He has merely decided to go on a political shopping tour, and on such a tour one should not break with the merchant who so far has offered the best terms. After divorcing himself, as Mr. Lewis did, from the President and the "third termites," what has he left?

Granting that Senator Wheeler has a better chance for nomination than most political prophets are willing to allow, Mr. Lewis is still left far from his goal. For Mr. Wheeler has made no commitments. In his speech before the miners' convention he emphasized his devotion to workers, to farmers, and to other groups. He pointed to the folly of need in the midst of plenty, but gave not the slightest inkling of how he would remedy the conditions he deplores. All one could gather from the Montana Senator's speech was that "Barkis is willin'."

The most serious feature of Mr. Lewis's political maneuver is his defiance of the will of his miners and of millions of other workers. From the emphasis given by the press one would think that forty-seven U. M. W. locals defied Mr. Lewis in asking indorsement for President Roosevelt for a third term. Exactly the reverse is true. Mr. Lewis defied the forty-seven locals. The resolutions were sent in long before he made his statement, and he most assuredly knew of them. The miners, on the other hand, did not know of the statement until it was read to them. And that goes for top-ranking officials, including the head of Labor's Non-Partisan League, who would be charged with the responsibility of effectuating any political policy adopted by the miners or the C. I. O. It looks as if only the luckiest of circumstances can save Mr. Lewis from finding himself out on a political limb. One of these lucky circumstances, from Lewis's standpoint, would be a decision by Roosevelt not to run. For if he does run, it will be Roosevelt and not Lewis who will control labor's vote.

So far labor has found a way of reconciling conflicting loyalties. A survey made since the convention reveals a series of rationalizations directed toward this end. I personally interviewed workers from many industries—coal, steel, men's clothing, glass, aluminum, railroad and electrical equipment and services—as well as white-collar workers and professionals devoted to labor's cause. All except those of a Communist tinge are for President Roosevelt and determined to vote for him should he run again. There can be no doubt about this attitude. It is clear and emphatic. At the same time the workers who profess it refuse to admit that they are going counter to Lewis's wishes. They believe—or profess to believe—that Mr. Lewis did not mean what he said, that he exploded a bombshell for some strategic reason which he cannot yet divulge. Their varied surmises as to what prompted this sort of strategy may be summarized as follows:

1. Lewis and the President had a secret understanding whereby Lewis was to frighten the Democratic Party

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into making concessions to labor which the President alone could not have forced.

2. President Roosevelt has done more for labor than any other President in history, and Lewis appreciates the fact. Labor, however, has become apathetic. It has come to take things too much for granted. Lewis intended by his speech to rouse labor out of its indifference and to stir it to more active support of the President.

3. The reactionaries were all set to defeat the President and the New Deal program but, now that Lewis has denounced both, will rally to their support. A bit of fine play-acting on Lewis's part and "smart" strategy.

4. It was an effective way to explode the anti-third-term myth and make possible President Roosevelt's re-election.

5. It was designed to prevent a deal between Roosevelt and the reactionaries of the Democratic Party for the vice-presidency. Lewis served notice that he wants no reactionaries, and so Senator Wheeler is a likely vice-presidential candidate to run with Roosevelt.

6. Lewis is a skilful negotiator. When he deals with the coal operators, they never quite know what he is up to until he swings them around to his way of thinking. He is using the same technique here, and no wonder the politicians don't know whether they are coming or going. He'll let them know when he is good and ready.

These are but a few of the major categories into which the surmises fall. There are many more. Out of them all emerge several general conclusions concerning the political views of the rank and file of labor. Roosevelt has been a great President and is a great friend of labor. Labor is for him and wants him to run for a third term. Lewis is a great labor leader. Therefore, he cannot be against Roosevelt. His statement to the contrary is a strategic move. The direction is not entirely clear, to be sure, but it will be made clear in time. It has already had one good effect. It has made labor think and be on its toes, ready for anyone who tries to put something over.

Does all this sound fantastic? Perhaps. Yet it is an accurate summary of the attitude of a large section of labor. Its significance is hard to weigh at this time. It will save face for Mr. Lewis and it will probably leave the political situation just as it was. In larger terms it may be regarded as a sign of labor's difficult transition from "pure and simple" trade unionism to a broader participation in the nation's political and economic affairs. It is regrettable that the transition is so confused, for these are critical times and the price of confusion may be high.

Turkey Is Not Neutral

BY NERMIN MUVAFFAK

Ankara, Turkey, January 16

ONE is hard put to catch the historical mood of the moment in a world in which the only quiet and unchanging spot is the no man's land between the Maginot and Siegfried lines. Even that may no longer be true when this article is read. Indeed, a great many things may be changed by then. But some things are certain: returning to Turkey after an absence that coincided with the outbreak of the war and the signature of the Anglo-French-Turkish pact, I find that the country has taken a turn in a very definite direction. Turkey today is not neutral. It is, like Italy—and will be perhaps for as long as Italy—non-belligerent. To one who has been following developments in Turkey during the past few years there is nothing startling in this fact, particularly when one remembers that Turkey is pro-Ally but not anti-Soviet.

Before war broke out there was much speculation about the possibly devastating effects of the undue expansion of Turkish and Balkan trade with Germany in recent years. Now once more the mysterious truth becomes apparent that when the wheels of war are set revolving, economic liabilities may well become assets, and assets liabilities. The fact that about 45 per cent of Turkey's export and import trade was with Germany used to worry a great many people. As I write, a delegation in London is negotiating for new outlets for Turkish trade and is exceedingly likely to be successful, while Germany seems ready to offer Turkey the moon in exchange for a little chromium. A new economic relationship has arisen between the Turks and the Nazis.

Interesting revelations of the new mood in Turkey are found in the daily press. In Turkey there is of course no openly partisan press since there is only one legal party. But without flying a banner it is possible to express shades of meaning, and this has been even easier of late. Formerly opinions about Germany had to be expressed with a certain amount of reserve. Now it is the pro-Nazi dailies that must guard against a too free expression of their sympathies. The anti-Nazi papers are having the time of their life, and all of a sudden it has become possible to acquire a great deal of knowledge concerning facts that one has always been curious about. I knew, for instance, in a dim sort of way, that there existed a Nazi propaganda and spying organization in Turkey. I had heard that the Nazis in Ankara kept track of the circula-

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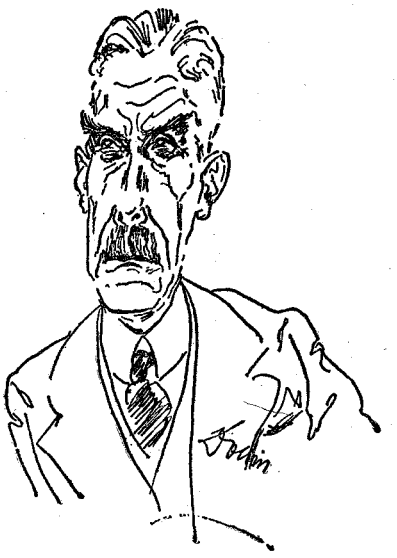
tion of radical books through the sales of the Ankara bookstores. (Ankara is a city of only 125,000 souls, and it is a simple matter to discover the likes and dislikes of the people.) Now the press is suddenly full of the details. The *Tan,* an Istanbul daily of liberal tendencies, has been publishing a series of articles on the organization of German propaganda in Turkey. According to these articles the organization functions under the orders of a member of the staff of the German embassy and has headquarters in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, in which cities there are small German colonies. The propaganda work is carried on not only in the German colony but also among members of Turkish student groups, the intelligentsia, and the commercial and industrial classes. In each of the three cities named above there are district leaders, not a few of whom are functionaries in Turkish institutions receiving Turkish pay. The leader in Ankara, according to the *Tan,* is a teacher of German in one of the Turkish schools.

German methods of propaganda in Turkey are not confined to "cultural" pressure. The *Tan* cites instances of other types of pressure, naming names. At the time of Goebbels's visit to Istanbul it published an item about his interest in the local night clubs, whereupon its offices were visited by a representative of the Bayer Aspirin Company who threatened to withdraw all German advertising from the paper unless it modified its tone in regard to Germany. (German advertising in Turkey is said to be centralized in the hands of this representative.) Again, a German official connected with the Deutsche Orient Bank in Istanbul visited the editor-in-chief and placed before him a detailed statement of the paper's financial obligations, with an offer to meet all such obligations for a consideration. Two weeklies, *Karikatür* and *Ak Baba,* have also encountered efforts to exert advertising pressure on their policies.

A more general campaign has been raging in the press against German attempts to bring about a cooling off in Soviet-Turkish relations. Ambassador von Papen himself gave impetus to the campaign when, at an embassy dinner, copies of the German White Book, translated into Turkish, appeared beside the plate of every guest. Translations of an article in *Pravda* and of a speech by Molotov, both critical of the Turks, were sent to all the newspapers and appeared in the mail of a number of commercial firms and private citizens. This bit of intrigue was commented on copiously and forcefully in the Turkish press. The translations came from the information bureau of the German embassy, but where had they been printed? Anything can be published in Turkey provided it bears the names of the person or persons responsible for publication and of the publishing house. Both were missing. The *Tan,* always eager for an opportunity to show a link between official and non-official German agencies in Turkey, stated that the translations were hot off the press of the *Turkische Post,* the German newspaper published in Istanbul. A subsequent police raid of the offices of that paper proved this to be the fact. The police found vast quantities of the offending translations, and the editors of the *Turkische Post* finally admitted that the printing had been done at their press, but added that they had merely put through an order of the information bureau of the embassy, as they would that of any customer. Why they had not mentioned this commercial transaction earlier, in view of the clamor in the papers, they did not say. From that time on the Turks have been making their own translations from *Pravda.*



Ambassador von Papen

However, German interest in Soviet-Turkish relations has continued. The official German news agency, the D. N. B., reprinted articles from the German press entreating the Turks to be careful lest they become embroiled with their great neighbor, though this, the Turks understand, is just what Germany wants. A Viennese correspondent circulated a canard to the effect that President Inönü was contemplating a visit to Bagdad. This brought forth a full editorial by the *Yeni Sabah's* anti-Nazi editor-in-chief, Hüseyin Cahid Yalçin. In this rumor of a visit to Bagdad Mr. Yalçin saw an attempt to interpret the recent tripartite pact as a move against Russia. He quoted from articles in Bulgarian papers, which had eagerly picked up the morsel, to the effect that England and France hoped to make use of Turkey's prestige in Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan, the countries of the Saadabad pact, to create a new *cordon sanitaire* stretching from the Black Sea to the Indian Ocean. In this manner Soviet Russia would be blocked in any attempt to combat British imperialism in southwestern Asia, and incidentally Turkey would have taken a position against Soviet Russia and would be open to attack by it. He added that the Bulgarian press was playing Germany's game and concluded as follows: "The Turkish people, who know the meaning of such words as friendship, pledge, and international honor, will never enter any enemy combination against the Russian people, with whom they are friends, and they will remain sincerely faithful to the Ankara tripartite pact." This is the Turkish position in a nutshell.

It need hardly be repeated that the Nazi campaign in Turkey has been conducted with the greatest possible

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lack of tact and understanding. The presence of von Papen in Ankara has rendered incalculable service to the cause of anti-Hitlerism. Every new move of the German embassy, reinforced by German commercial and financial interests in Turkey and by the D. N. B., justifies a new outburst in the press. Alone the *Cumhuriyet* occasionally raises its voice in defense of the Nazis. But even that paper has become considerably more moderate in its tone if not in its sympathies.

Yet firm as it is in its likes and dislikes, the press is no less so in its non-belligerency. While the Turks are resolved to live up to their obligations they have absolutely no intention of precipitating a crisis. "We live in extraordinary times," commented Zekerya Sertel in a *Tan* editorial. "Europe is engaged in a life-and-death struggle. With this struggle Turkey has no concern. The purpose of the young Turkish republic is to remain as far away as possible from this war of great nations, to live in peace and comfort, not to enter the mêlée until the danger reaches our frontiers." Having picked up no territorial tidbits in the last war, and lost only the crumbling remains of an empire that meant nothing but headaches, Turkey is more truly at peace with the world than any nation in Europe. As long as the present situation can be maintained, the Turkish people can make use of it to consolidate and improve their own position.

Today the Turkish republic enjoys a prestige unequaled in its recent history. All over Europe people are tuning in on the Ankara radio. The Anatolian News Agency maintains a radio news service in seven languages, twice a day, and on my way through Europe to Turkey I heard many persons say that they tune in on this in preference to Radio-Paris or the B. B. C. Ankara broadcasts repeat impartially the news of all the agencies, belligerent and non-belligerent, and though the gentlemen from Havas, Reuter's, D. N. B., and Stefani word their news items with an eye to the effect, one has an opportunity to hear them all and draw one's own conclusions.

Apart from this very significant orientation in the press and on the air, life in Turkey has not changed much since the war. A small air-raid flurry in the early days, when no one quite knew who would be dropping bombs from the sky on whom, has completely subsided. There are no blackouts, no gas masks. Prices have gone up a bit, as was inevitable after such fundamental changes in foreign trade, but there is no scarcity. Coffee and gasoline are plentiful and there is meat every day in the week for those who eat meat. It would be useless to pretend that events in the world at large are not being watched with an anxious eye. But the feeling does exist that Turkish statesmen are handling matters in the manner most advantageous to the country, and that the chances are fair for the continuance of the present situation, for a few months at least, perhaps for much longer.

Everybody's Business

Gold and Inflation

TWO weeks ago I pointed out that redistribution of our excessive gold holdings could only come about when we were willing to buy more goods and services from other countries than we sold to them. Until then, or so long as we are prepared to pay a fixed price for the metal, our hoard will continue to grow. It is possible to argue, however, that this process is not doing any serious harm and may in fact be doing some good. For while we have unemployed men and idle machines we might as well utilize some of them to make goods for other countries even if all we get in exchange is a metal of questionable intrinsic value. True, it is a form of pyramid-building, but even that is socially more desirable than allowing men to decay on relief.

The question arises, however, whether too much gold can harm our internal economy. Some people imagine that the larger the gold base of our monetary system the safer it must be. But it is a popular fallacy to believe that inflation can only come about through abuse of the printing-press. No matter what the medium of exchange may be, if the amount available expands while the supply of goods is unchanged, prices will rise. Our chief safeguard against inflation today is not the fact that every dollar bill is covered more than twice by the Treasury's gold holdings but the fact that our productive machinery is running well below capacity. Consequently any serious rise in prices would quickly stimulate output and thus provide its own corrective. Until we return to something like a state of full employment gold inflation will be only a potential danger.

Every new shipment of gold into this country leads to an increase in bank deposits and provides the basis for an increase in credit. But only a basis, for bankers are in a state of mind that makes them ultra-cautious about granting loans, and good borrowers lack confidence in their ability to use money profitably. As a result the banks are building up larger and larger reserves, which now exceed legal necessities by more than five and a half billion dollars. Many bankers and economists feel that this is a very unhealthy state of affairs, for if there were a sudden change in business psychology, and the present exaggerated pessimism gave way to a spell of equally unthinking exuberance, bank credit could be enormously expanded without the Federal Reserve authorities being able to check it.

The latter have two weapons at their disposal. They can sell government securities in the open market, thus reducing the total of bank deposits, and they can raise reserve requirements. If used early enough, the psychological effect of such moves would be very powerful, but there would be a natural hesitation to employ them to check a demand for credit which might well seem to denote merely a very desirable increase in business activity. And by the time boom proportions were reached stronger weapons would be needed.

The Federal Reserve Board itself believes that its brakes are too weak for an emergency. "The potential lending power derived by the banks from the receipt of this gold,"

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a recent bulletin stated, "creates an unprecedented problem of control because the unused reserves of the banks are much greater than can be absorbed by the Federal Reserve authorities under present powers." Winthrop Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank, agrees with this opinion and in a recent speech suggested that gold coins and certificates should be put back into circulation again so as to transfer some part of the Treasury's hoard to the pockets of the public and thus diminish the base of the credit pyramid. No doubt some people would be glad of the opportunity to fill up an old stocking with shining coins, but it is improbable that the Midas complex is sufficiently widespread to reduce seriously the amount of gold in the banking system.

Mr. Aldrich himself recognizes this and proposes further that the Federal Reserve Board should be given powers to increase reserve requirements beyond the present 26 per cent maximum. It is not certain, however, how much support he will get from the financial district for this plan. According to B. H. McCormack, writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, many bankers object to giving the Federal Reserve further powers to manage credit, and share the opinion expressed by R. C. Leffingwell, Morgan partner, in a memorandum recently presented to the TNEC, that "no man or group of men . . . can be wise enough to manage our money." At the same time its author suggested that one remedy for the gold situation was "to allow commodity prices to rise somewhat." In other words, Mr. Leffingwell is advocating a mild dose of inflation, which might, under present circumstances, be beneficial to our economy. Nevertheless, it is dangerous medicine unless antidotes are available at the point where a state of full employment is attained. For this reason it seems essential not merely to retain but to strengthen monetary management. Not otherwise can we hope to damp the potentially explosive possibilities of our gold hoard.

In the Wind

THE In the Wind editor can't let *The Nation's* seventy-fifth birthday slide into the past without sharing with readers a few of the many items, amusing or enlightening, encountered in earlier volumes of the magazine:

THE FIRST sentence of the first paragraph of the first page of the first number of the first volume read: "This week has been singularly barren of exciting events."

THIS ADVERTISEMENT appeared in the same issue:

"New Skirt for 1865
The Great Invention of the Age in
HOOP SKIRT
J. W. Bradley's New Patent Duplex Elliptic (Or Double) Spring Skirt

This invention consists of Duplex (or two) Elliptic Steel Springs, ingeniously braided tightly and firmly together, edge to edge, making the toughest, most flexible, elastic, and durable spring ever used. They seldom bend or break. . . ."

A BITTER ATTACK on sweatshops was published on June 19, 1890. After painting a desolate picture of "Our Sweating System," the editorial concluded: "The beginning of summer is a bad moment to urge a reform on the attention of the more fortunate classes of the community; but we trust no one will go to the seaside or mountains without remembering the helpless tens of thousands who are left to swelter in the city in these stores and workshops, for a precarious livelihood, without determining that something shall be done next winter to relieve our civilization of this disgrace."

AN EDITORIAL called The Law of Population, published on April 9, 1868, observed: "The sentiment of love is one of the strongest and most valuable of the social bonds; but it is, nevertheless, not necessary that every time a lover kisses his sweetheart he should do so with an eye to the general weal." The author was E. L. Godkin.

A TWO-COLUMN analysis of The Etiquette of Smoking appeared in the issue of December 14, 1865. Its conclusions were: "The old maxim that the effect ceases with the cause does not apply to tobacco, the after odor of which is often more disagreeable to non-smokers than the immediate result of its consumption. Hence a gentleman should purify himself thoroughly after smoking before venturing into ladies' society, and a room where gentlemen are accustomed to smoke should be carefully ventilated and pastilled before it is used by ladies."

DEPLORING "OVER-EMPHASIS" on athletics in American colleges, *The Nation* of February 20, 1873, warned: "A college is something better than a training-place for athletes; it needs, indeed, a good hearty and healthy physical training to accompany and aid its intellectual work . . . but whether the intercollegiate regatta is a desirable means to the good end is a little doubtful, and the college authorities may be obliged to suppress it out of regard to higher interests. It may prove such an unnatural growth of the manly art of boating as is the prize fight of the equally manly art of self-defense."

ALTHOUGH E. L. GODKIN never heard of Martin Dies, *The Nation* of March 21, 1867, published a preview of Dies committee methods. Commenting on the report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction *The Nation* wrote: "The demagogues are beginning to find the 'stump' a failing instrument; . . . even the Congressional speech . . . is but a feeble mode of expression. . . . Something had therefore to be found which would secure more attention than mere expression, whether oral or written, of individual sentiments, and which would, nevertheless, tend really to individual glorification—and this thing has been found . . . in 'reports' of Congressional committees. The process is a very simple one. A bill—or set of resolutions—is introduced . . . it is not intended that it should ever develop into a law; what is wanted is to make it the text of remarks in the shape of 'a report' by an ambitious committeeman who has an 'ax to grind.' . . . The report rarely contains anything but his own private and individual nonsense. . . . His composition goes forth to the country with the authority of the committee . . . with his name most prominently associated with it."

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Eire's Case Against England

WHAT is the actual situation in Ireland that has produced the bombing outrages, for one of which Peter Barnes and James Richards have just been executed? Why is it that from the beginning of the war President de Valera, who has set his face like flint against the violence of the Irish Republican Army, has been gravely concerned lest the old enmity between Ireland and England flare up to such an extent that Ireland would no longer be neutral in the present war? Since most people have only the vaguest idea of the so-called Ulster situation, this would seem to be the moment to present a factual statement of the Irish case against England.

This is the way Eire sees it: By its Government of Ireland Act of 1920, for which not one Irish member voted, the British Parliament set up a separate government for "Northern Ireland," which contains 1,279,753 persons out of a total Irish population of 4,245,607, and comprises 3,351,444 acres of the total acreage of 20,375,925, or roughly one-sixth of the territory and three-tenths of the whole Irish population. This Northern Ireland includes Armagh, the seat of the heads of the Catholic church, as well as Downpatrick, the alleged burial place of St. Patrick. The reason given for this act was the necessity of protecting a minority declared to be of different race and religion. To this Eire replies that the religious difference exists but not the racial, and that there is in Northern Ireland a large Nationalist or Catholic minority which has been deprived by unjust laws and gerrymandering of its proper share of political power. Eire denies that Northern Ireland has ever been a unit socially, economically, traditionally, or administratively. Six of the nine counties comprising it were the old province of Ulster. The Catholic minority is alleged to be one-third of the total population.

The Irish point out that there are actually two administrative systems existing in Northern Ireland: the British government, which controls customs and excise, post office, telephone, navigation, external trade, navy and army and air force, and all questions of citizenship; and a government of Northern Ireland, which has no power over the main sources of its tax revenue and no control over its electoral laws. Its government and parliament are responsible to the people, but under a governor appointed, and mainly paid, by England. They declare that the financial arrangements have broken down from the very beginning and that Northern Ireland has failed to pay its way as prescribed by the Government of Ireland Act. The southern Irish maintain that the government of North Ireland is oppressive and tyrannical not only because the Catholic minority has been deprived of its proper share of electoral power, but because the principal guaranties of the liberty of the individual have been abolished, although Northern Ireland forms part of the United Kingdom and is supposed to be ruled by the British constitution. In addition, they assert, there is systematic discrimination against Catholics as to both employment and education.

What is it that the southern Irish wish England to do? Here I must quote the words of Captain Henry Harrison, who is one of the outstanding protagonists of a united and independent Ireland:

> The answer is clear. She [England] should hold the balance even. Britain should take immediate steps to terminate the unconstitutional oppression of the Nationalist or Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. Britain should also forthwith terminate her financial support of the partition of Ireland by direct and indirect subsidies. Northern Ireland of its own free will would then decide its own fate. It could lapse into the British system for all purposes and become an undifferentiated fragment of the United Kingdom if it so desired. There is little doubt, however, that sooner or later it would rejoin the parent body of Ireland on fair and freely negotiated terms. As soon as it ceases to be a British imperial interest (whether avowedly or covertly pursued) to keep Ireland divided by fomenting religious differences, Irishmen of the north and Irishmen of the south, whether Protestant or Catholic, will come together in cordial fraternization as they did in immense numbers in the Great War on the western front.

Obviously this last point is the all-important one. Would it really be possible for the Ulster Protestants to live happily within the Catholic fold of Eire? Or would it be merely the substitution of one oppressed minority for another? It would seem as if the British might be won over to a united Ireland if there could be agreement on this point, and if adequate guaranties could be given that the Ulster Protestants would be quite free. Meanwhile, the outlawed Irish Republican Army seeks to take advantage of England's involvement in the World War to force a solution favorable to Eire. But every time a bomb goes off, the cause of Eire is injured, in my judgment, because of the bitter anger aroused by these wanton crimes.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS'S "In the American Grain," for some years out of print, has just been reissued as the first title in the New Classics Series (New Directions, $1). The essays which make up the book do not fit into any conventional category. Even the term essay does not describe them unless we think of essay in its primary meaning as a word rather than as a formalized literary form. Using extensively the source materials of history, Mr. Williams is concerned with extracting from incidents and personalities in the American past their essential quality and meaning. His tools are the creative imagination, which is often more accurate than a slide rule, a capacity for direct perception, and a disciplined skill in expression which have made him one of the most original and accomplishing poets now writing.

The clue to his objective is contained in a paragraph in the essay on Père Sebastian Rasles:

> . . . [Americans] do not believe that they have sprung from anything: bone, thought, and action. They will not see that what they are is growing on these roots. They will not look. They float without question. Their history is to them an enigma.

And by history, of course, Mr. Williams does not mean dates and battles. One of the first essays is a reconstruction, extraordinarily moving and vivid with suspense, of the discovery of the Indies by Columbus; another recites the destruction of Tenochtitlan and the conflict between Montezuma and Cortez as leaders and as men. Other subjects are Cotton Mather's Wonders of the Invisible World, the Discovery of Kentucky, George Washington, Poor Richard. The last is Abraham Lincoln.

> It is Lincoln pardoning the fellow who slept on sentry duty. It is the grace of the Bixby letter. The least private could find a woman to caress him, a woman in an old shawl—with a great bearded face and towering black hat above it, to give unearthly reality.

Reading this book I was reminded of the seeds of grain buried in the tombs of the Egyptian kings which sprouted again when they were restored to soil and sun and moisture. That, essentially, is what Dr. Williams does with the facts he has chosen from American history. The result is a collection unique and fresh and very rich.

And now I must protest against the folly of reprinting Dr. Williams's book in type so fine that only the hardiest eyes can read more than a few pages at a time. I hope the rest of the New Classics Series will be spared the physical handicap of what seems to be eight-point type. (You are reading ten-point.)

Frederick Lewis Allen goes in for a very different treatment of history in "Since Yesterday" (Harper and Brothers, $3). His is the journalist's not the poet's-eye view, and where Dr. Williams broods over the sub-surface lineaments of our distant past, Mr. Allen charters a charabanc and whirls us through an exhibit of the nineteen thirties which is already half museum because many displays are designedly ephemeral and there is nothing so dated as last year's hat, unless it is the sweater suit of 1929 pictured in the frontispiece of Mr. Allen's book.

Mr. Allen's first chapter, which is a recapitulation of "what you were doing on September 3, 1929," demonstrates that the recent past can seem more remote than ancient history. On that day the big bull market reached its peak, though no one, alas, suspected it. Automobiles were angular in shape, and there were so many of them that on Labor Day, September 2, the roads leading into New York were choked for miles outside the city limits with returning week-end traffic. Prohibition was with us. Calvin Coolidge was still alive. Hoover had been six months in office. The first Silly Symphony had just appeared. The names in the headlines were those of Jimmy Walker, Senator Heflin, Mabel Walker Willebrandt, and Dolly Gann. And so on.

These are among the ephemeral exhibits. There were others, however, which received less attention at the time but have become more imposing with the years. Even in 1929, 78 per cent of the American population had family incomes of less than $3,000, some 40 per cent had less than $1,500. The farmers weren't getting along so well, and there were several millions of unemployed. There was a mountain of fixed debt.

After 1929, the deluge. Even now, when recovery is recovery only by comparison, the story of the first three years of the Great Depression reads like a tall tale, and Mr. Allen has recorded it with great skill. Banks failing, factories closing, the dams of private relief breaking before the tidal wave of unemployment and hunger, families evicted, schools closing —to the tune of business cheer campaigns and assorted idiotic capers of local Canutes.

The dramatic climax came in March, 1933, when a blight with the gay name of bank holiday descended over the entire country, and in the awful silence the voice of a new President boomed out the phrase about money changers fleeing from the temple.

That seems a long time ago. Since then we have had the experiments and palliatives of the New Deal. The money changers are still operating, but the government holds first, second, and third mortgages on the temples in Akron and Chicago and Cleveland. The Administration has put a cushion on the cold, cold ground: bank deposits, if you have any, are guaranteed up to $5,000; federal relief has taken the edge off starvation and cut down incitement to riot; we have the beginnings of a social-security system. In another sector industrial unionism has improved the lot of the mass-production workers. But the basic domestic problems remain unsolved, while fascism and a new war in Europe cast an ever-blacker shadow.

Inevitably Mr. Allen's narrative is much concerned with economics; but he never slights the human side, both tragic and comic, of a decade during which the American people

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learned so much, in the hard way, about the facts of life that the twenties seem now like an age of innocence. Mr. Allen points out that the tragic decade left unimpaired our civil rights and our capacity for optimism. We shall have need of both, and of the humor that did not fail, even in 1931. Remember "Oh, Yeah?"

MARGARET MARSHALL

A Synthesis of History

A STUDY OF HISTORY. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Volumes IV, V, VI. Oxford University Press. $23.

THE last 150 years have been years of unparalleled progress in all fields. It may be safely assumed that progress in these 150 years has been greater than during all the preceding centuries. This is also true of our knowledge of history. Work in archives has widened our knowledge as immensely as did archaeology. With this expansion of our historical horizon the task of synthesis becomes at the same time more imperative and more difficult. Of the living generation of historians few if any are as qualified as Dr. Toynbee to undertake this task. He seems as familiar with civilizations long past or far removed in distance as he is firmly rooted in the traditions of Western civilization, and he builds his structure on the secure foundations of the Graeco-Roman heritage and of the Bible. He shows a catholicity of mind and an urbanity of style which are unfortunately growing very rare today. His *magnum opus*—of which the first three volumes appeared five years ago, the second set of three volumes has just appeared, and further volumes are to come—has dealt so far with the geneses and growth of civilizations, and with their breakdowns and disintegrations. The volumes are, in spite of a certain repetitiousness and some obsolete peculiarities of style, not difficult to read. They should find a circle of appreciative readers outside the ranks of the professional historians. For they abound in fecund suggestions; they blaze new trails through the thicket of five thousand years of history; with a certain boldness in many of the hypotheses there goes a sober and slow-moving caution in the presentation of supporting facts which robs the book of the incisive brilliancy of Spengler's fascinating synthesis of history but provides it with a solid foundation and what will undoubtedly be a duration unknown to Spengler's dazzling, but passing, success. As Spengler's synthesis of history culminated in, and was written for, an analysis of present-day trends and their implications for the immediate future, in the same way one of the great merits of Toynbee's book is the light which it throws on our present situation and on the roads which mankind may travel toward its future destiny.

In a brief space the reviewer cannot do more than single out one or two of the fundamental conclusions of these 1,800 pages. The progress of civilization consists in finding effective responses to ever new challenges; the breakdown of civilization occurs if the creative minority is not any more able to find such responses, but proceeds instead to the idolization of institutions which no longer correspond to the needs of the new situation which has thrown up the new challenge. Our present crisis dates from the eighteenth century, when two new forces arose, democracy and industrialism. These two forces were not given free scope but were, so to speak, caught in the meshes of the existing institution, the parochial or national state. Democracy, however, is not parochial but universal.

> Its essence is the spirit of fraternity which knows no bounds but those of life itself. The natural field of action for democracy is then a field that embraces all mankind; and it is on this range that its spiritual potency is beneficent. But when this potent spiritual driving force is diverted into the mechanism of a parochial state, it not only ceases to be beneficent, but becomes malignantly subversive. Democracy imprisoned in parochial states degenerates into nationalism.

In the same way industrialism is a cooperative system of work which demands the organization of the earth into one single field of economic activity; otherwise it will die of asphyxiation. A perversion of industrialism corresponding to that of democracy has made it instead an instrument fortifying under the guise of economic nationalism the political parochialism of our civilization. Economic nationalism represents "an exploitation of the apparatus of a parochial state for the purpose of promoting the economic interests of its population at the expense of the rest of mankind." Therein lies the chief reason of our economic crisis, because economic nationalism attempts the impossible "in trying to harness the intrinsically ecumenical force of industrialism to a parochial aim." To these new ecumenical forces we have to adjust our institutions of sovereignty and of personal property. In a disintegrating civilization the challenge of a new situation is met, however, not by the response of adaptation to the new circumstances, but by the idolization of the past or of a historical phase, by the worship of the part instead of the whole, or in our case by an isolationism which is as strong in some of the democracies as in some of the totalitarian states, except that in the democracies it is pursued in opposition to the meaning of democracy itself. Without the wealth of the detailed examples brought from all civilizations and from all times for the substantiation of this statement, it seems somewhat barren and apodictic; the reviewer cannot do better than to send the reader to the volumes themselves, which after all is the purpose of all reviews.

This reviewer finds it impossible to agree with the sentimental and romantic longing for the catholicity of the Middle Ages at their height which seems to pervade Dr. Toynbee's discussion. It is in the age of Gregory VII that Dr. Toynbee sees the culmination of Western civilization. "Can Hildebrand [Gregory VII] arise again in his might to heal the wounds inflicted upon the souls of his flock" by later developments? To regard this as the greatest of all the questions that have to be answered in this twentieth century seems to me, at least in the formulation given by Dr. Toynbee, as much of an aberration from the real problem as is this other sentence: "If we have really lost the power or the will to practice the virtues of Gethsemane, then it is certainly better to practice those of Sparta or Walhalla than to practice none at all." Dr. Toynbee puts the question in the form of a *tertium non datur* of despair. A return to the eleventh century is impossible. If we have to look back, then it is better to raise before our eyes the short interlude of enlightened tolerance and width of horizon of the eighteenth century. But the response

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to the challenge of the twentieth century cannot be found in any "return." The twentieth century represents something fundamentally new in human history. Western civilization is not any more today *a* civilization, but *the* civilization. This civilization, under the impact of the ecumenical forces of democracy and industrialism, which arose only in the eighteenth century, is tending to become universal as no civilization before, and therefore incomparable to any preceding civilization. Dr. Toynbee has diagnosed our contemporary crisis rightly as the result of the anachronistic survival of the national state in radically altered circumstances. But they are altered beyond any possibility of comparison with the days of Augustus or Hildebrand. The Christmas message of the King of England and the Emperor of India to his peoples to fight for the preservation of Christian civilization seemed, at least to this reader, unfortunate and incongruous, not only because it is doubtful how far Great Britain can be identified with Christian civilization, but because the large majority of the people to whom the appeal was addressed were not Christians, but Hindus and Mohammedans, who might be called upon to defend a universal civilization, but who may doubt their mission to defend a specifically Christian civilization as much as probably did the Moors whom General Franco raised to the dignity of defenders of Christianity and the church.

There are some other conclusions which the reviewer is tempted to question, for instance, the underestimation of the fundamental contribution of French civilization to human progress, notably of that contribution which is connected with eighteenth-century France. Throughout the course of Western civilization France, especially again the rejuvenated France of the nineteenth century, has been an inspiration to the intellectual life and to the progressive forces of Europe. But any questions which the reader will interject from time to time in no way detract from the gratitude which he will owe to Dr. Toynbee. Even where he has to disagree he will be indebted to Dr. Toynbee for a provocative inspiration to think again, and to think out of a deeper knowledge, about the most fundamental and at the same time the most pressing problems of our time and all times. HANS KOHN

The German Enigma

THE OTHER GERMANY. By Erika and Klaus Mann. Modern Age Books. $2.75.

THE German exiles living abroad today are curiously free from bitterness and loss of perspective in regard to their native land. On the contrary their sense of responsibility and their political conscience seem to have been stimulated, forcing them to deal honestly and constructively with their own and the world's most burning problems: with Nazism and the roads toward and away from it.

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diately confronted by a more fundamental question: "What are the Germans?"

> An enigmatic people, these Germans—the enigma par excellence, we sometimes think: the "bad boy" among the nations, at once melancholy and aggressive. . . . In a mixture of conceit and self-abasement they trumpet forth into the world: "Look at us! We are a singular people . . . we combine the noble melancholy of Hamlet with the rebellious insatiableness, the ever-striving unrest of Faust."

Concrete characterization of the Germans is, however, not easily accomplished. The Manns quote from Goethe, Nietzsche, Heine, and Heinrich Mann and point to characters like Luther, Frederick II, and Bismarck. Character interpretations of paragraph length must at best be sketchy and opportunistic. It is difficult to explain one nation to another nation by means of a hasty pageant of native genius, be it angelic or demoniac. Genius is always removed from the level of consciousness of the masses, and as the Manns themselves assert, "there never was [in Germany] any democratic, free, and easy contact between the creative spirit and the common people." One might, in fact, say that the Germans deny their genius.

Not getting too much enlightenment on Germany's many-faceted soul by examining her great men of the past, the Manns very sensibly turn to truth nearer home and give a rapid description of Germany in the twenties. They do so with tenderness, understanding, and nostalgia. They defend the Weimar Republic, although, they insist, there might be a lot to say about "its faults and weaknesses." The republic wasn't bad, they keep on reiterating.

No, the republic wasn't "bad," but it was not imbued with realism. The Manns quote Article 151 of the Weimar constitution in defense of the lofty spirit of its originators. "Economic life is to be ordered according to the principles of justice with the aim of guaranteeing everyone a livelihood consistent with human dignity. Within these limits the economic freedom of the individual is to be secure." Considering the time, place, and circumstances into which the young republic was born, such optimistic phrasing seems audacious if not downright demagogic.

The best and freshest part of the book begins when its authors deal with the present regime in Germany and its actual and potential threats to the world. Here they report from first-hand knowledge, and they do it with discrimination and fire. But they seem certain that once Hitler is disposed of and the Nazi system destroyed all will be well again, that the Germans will then no longer be "bad" but "good."

> All the Germans need to do is to find themselves—and they will find their way to Europe. They are not to deny but to fulfil their national character. . . . Let them but listen to the noble voices that spring from their own midst! Let them follow the eloquent counsel of their own great, the flowing enthusiasm of their own music, the wisdom of their own philosophers!

Yes, all would be well if the whole complex business labeled "Nazism" could be made an affair of morals and, possibly, aesthetics. Unfortunately there are political and economic sides to it, too. Since 1918 Germany has actually had two revolutions. Twice—in 1919 and in 1933—it has changed its political regime and started to rebuild its economic system. It has done so from grim necessity. Even behind the repulsive and ridiculous front of the Nazi regime, there worked a steady impulse toward economic recovery. I say "worked," because since all this second impulse did was to precipitate a war, it too obviously failed. But after the war what? The will to survive and not the desire to be "good" or "philosophical" will push the nations into a coalition of cooperating states. Nor can the question now be solved as to whether this coalition will be voluntary—dictated by idealism —or enforced—dictated by the strongest state. The Germans may "find themselves"; this means, I suppose, that the inner springs of the nation's soul are to be touched so that the milk of human kindness and mutual understanding will flow again. But this utopian recipe à la Rousseau has never proved adequate in the establishment of a well-functioning society of nations.

The masses in Germany today are political fanatics to an unheard-of degree. To make them adapt themselves to more liberal standards of government and a universally established humanitarian code will demand years of systematic education. Paradoxically one might add that no liberal leader could accomplish such a task, nor will it be actually brought about unless such education is made tempting by a program of universal economic cooperation.

TONI CHRISTEN

Huxley in Hollywood

AFTER MANY A SUMMER DIES THE SWAN. By Aldous Huxley. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

THIS is Aldous Huxley writing very much in the manner of Aldous Huxley, which is to say, in the manner of a twentieth-century Swift, with a withering contempt for the human animal. To him, practically everyone is eyeless in Gaza, at the mill with slaves, each pushing his puny shoulder against the colossal stone of his own stupidity. The only happy people in his novels are those who live on the completely "animal plane" of appetite and its satisfaction and those who live on the "eternal plane" of stoical realism, forgetful of self, armored against desire. Of the latter type he usually places one in every novel to comment philosophically on the action, presumably voicing the author's own views, and Mr. Propter serves volubly and well as Huxley's mouthpiece in this latest devastating fable. "After Many a Summer" excoriates two human weaknesses: one local and specific, the other more or less universal. The local foible is Hollywood, which has been much more acidulously caricatured by writers who know it better—last year, for example, by Nathanael West in "The Day of the Locust"—and the general one is man's longing for eternal life. Here Mr. Huxley is on more familiar ground, for he can bring all of his tremendous learning in literature, philosophy, and science to bear on the absurd yet pathetic gropings of Jo Stoyte, a fabulously rich entrepreneur who surrounds himself with Arabian Nights' luxury in abominable taste and lives in terror of the conqueror worm. He knows that money cannot buy immortality, but at least it can buy the services of Dr. Obispo, a Mephistophelian scientist pursuing the secret of longevity.

To explain how a pleasant but grotesquely ineffectual

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British gentleman and scholar helps to set Dr. Obispo on the right track would be giving away too much of the story, which is told with the usual Huxleyan compound of brilliant epigram, fantasy, irony, suave erudition, and skilful lubricity. If you have liked the earlier displays in the Huxley freak show, you will find this very good entertainment; if the others have shocked or bored you, steer clear.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Colorful China

THROUGH CHINA'S WALL. By Graham Peck. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

OLD China hands invariably possess a lore regarding things Chinese which is fascinating to a novice. But they lack something which every newcomer to China possesses —capacity to see the color and the romance on every side. No old-timer could have written "Through China's Wall," because the things which Mr. Peck finds so exciting and colorful are, for the most part, merely the stage setting for China's real drama. For the average reader, the observations of the newcomer are the more absorbing because he sees the country and its people as the reader himself would see it if he had the opportunity to make the same trip.

This is not to suggest that Graham Peck is merely a novice who skims the surface in this fascinating story of his travels. It is rather to his credit that after more than two years in China he was able to impart all the freshness of a first impression. At the same time he has been able to assemble a mass of detail and folklore which would do credit to an observer with many more years' experience. To be sure, Mr. Peck had advantages of travel paralleled by few foreigners. After a stay of several months in China's most romantic city, Peking, he made an unusual and highly interesting trip to Kweihwa and from there into the Mongolian desert, spending a month as guest of a Mongolian chief in a yurt far removed from any town. The fact that he made this trip only a few weeks ahead of the advancing Japanese may mean that he was the last foreigner to see old Mongolia free from the Japanese yoke. His description of this remote region is both realistic and romantic. It is the kind of travel writing that makes the reader take out the literature of his favorite tourist agency and try to figure out the cost of a trip to the Far East. The sketches which accompany the text, Mr. Peck's presumable excuse for undertaking the trip, are fully as exotic.

After returning from Mongolia, Mr. Peck traveled down to Shanghai and thence up the Yangtze to Ichang and Chungking, settling down for a time at Chengtu in China's Far West. A brief trip to the borders of Tibet followed, after which he journeyed through Yunnan to Hanoi and back to Peking, in time to be on hand for the incidents which led to the present war. The last few chapters are darkened by the Japanese invasion, but this does not detract from the charm of the book. One is merely glad that a writer of Mr. Peck's descriptive powers saw the country before it was laid waste by the invader or modernized by its struggle for independence. For regardless of the outcome of the war, the China described in this book will never be seen again.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

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Human Being into Saint

TESTAMENT OF FRIENDSHIP: THE STORY OF WINIFRED HOLTBY. By Vera Brittain. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

IN HER "Testament of Friendship," a chronicle of the life of Winifred Holtby, Vera Brittain has succeeded in embalming her friend, sealing her up in air-tight devotion. The events of Miss Holtby's life are recorded with scrupulous fidelity, but a protective anxiety has taken a strangle-hold of Miss Brittain, and only rarely does her subject slip through the network of excellent prose and emerge as a fallible human being. "Winifred," says Miss Brittain, "was a saint."

Starting in Yorkshire, Winifred Holtby's birthplace, the story runs evenly through her school days, war-time service, life at Oxford, her journalistic bombardment of the not over-enthusiastic press, her lecture tour in South Africa, and so on. The growth of her success was steady and unspectacular. It increased with her increasing preoccupation with social and economic problems, and culminated in the acclaim that greeted her posthumously published "South Riding." Her concern for the oppressed and exploited was undoubtedly sincere, but her substantial middle-class background manifested itself in a trace of smugness in her attitude to those whose lot she strove, genuinely, to better.

Had the friendship of Vera Brittain for Winifred Holtby been untinctured by idolatry, "Testament of Friendship" might have been less redolent of an epitaph. The sustained impulse of the writer has been to extol, with the result that she has fabricated a woman in the semblance of a ministering angel, whose wings overshadow every human relationship. There is more than a suggestion that Winifred Holtby herself embraced too willingly the role of benefactress, shouldering the burdens of her multifarious relatives, friends, and acquaintances with a high-mindedness that evaded the rough and tumble of more equal contacts.

The last part of the story tells of her struggle against the encroachment of dire and lingering sickness, and of her final, almost gracious, acceptance of the knowledge of untimely death.

EILEEN HOLDING

MUSIC

THE campaign to get the public to pay $1,970,000 for the antiquated Metropolitan Opera House has begun; and the air is thick with the dust that is being thrown into the public's eyes. There has been talk, for example, of saving opera, which is not subsidized here as it is in European countries—conveying to some people the idea that the producing company is in financial trouble, when in fact it is not. Or the talk is of preserving opera's historic home—conveying the notion of an opera house with which the functioning and excellence of the producing company are so integrally bound up as to be impaired if it were lost, when in fact the Metropolitan, behind and in front of the proscenium arch, is possibly the worst theater in the world for its purpose. Or conceding its defects, which they promise to remedy, the Metropolitan directors contend that it is the only theater available, and that if it is not saved—that is, bought—opera is lost; when in fact opera could be given in a new opera house, and if the members of the Metropolitan Realty Company really are compelled to sell the old building by the failure of some stockholders to pay their assessments they should be willing not to sell if the deficit is made up, until the new opera house can be built.

The talk is also of "a true national music center" which will serve "broad public interests"; and this has caused even the *Times,* at last, to observe that "no one can cherish the illusion that the Opera House itself, in its present form, can serve such a purpose," and to conclude that if the interior cannot be remodeled "to serve the greatest good of the greatest possible number . . . plans for a new opera house should be resolutely kept in mind." Perhaps the *Times,* commenting on the promises of alterations backstage and more comfortable seating arrangements for the public, will point out that the additional space needed backstage is to be found only in Seventh Avenue, and that the public which is to be made more comfortable turns out to be the one which can afford the parterre boxes that are not subscribed for by their present owners, or the expensive seats that are to replace the grand-tier boxes.

But the Metropolitan directors have a more powerful ally than the *Times* in David Sarnoff. A friend told me recently of an occasion when his wife's parents, here on vacation from a mission in China, decided to make the farewell party a visit to the opera, and paid $8 for four seats in a rear row of the side of the Balcony for a performance of "Der Rosenkavalier" which was mostly invisible and only indistinctly audible. One would not expect this to be of concern to Mr. Cornelius Bliss or Mrs. August Belmont sitting downstairs all their lives; but Mr. Sarnoff began life as a poor boy whose love of opera may well have led him to pay $2 for a seat from which he could neither see nor hear; and one would suppose that today he would want the poorer opera lovers not to be mistreated in this way and would not ask them for money to insure the Blisses' and Belmonts' continued enjoyment and their own continued mistreatment—that wishing to see opera go on he would offer the help of his broadcasting network only for a campaign for a new opera house. And much the same thing can be said of Mayor LaGuardia.

My friend's story is one answer to President Roosevelt's statement that "grand opera has now become, in a real sense, the people's opera rather than the possession of only a privileged few." The President had in mind, of course, the millions of radio listeners all over the country who hear the performance that is broadcast once each week and who do not suffer from the present opera house's inadequacies. But as long as what they hear originates not in a studio but in a theater in which performances are given six or seven times each week for paying audiences of two or three thousand, this theater should serve the performers and audiences in a way that the Metropolitan Opera House does not and cannot possibly serve them.

W. J. Turner has pointed out that the passion, violence, demoniac intensity one is aware of in some of Mozart's music are crystallized into the purest, simplest, clearest, most delicate

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of musical forms, and that it is this fact which makes Mozart the supreme classical artist. It also provides a standard of judgment of performance: there was always a question whether Toscanini's performance of the G minor Symphony was not too explicitly impassioned for the style in which the emotional content of the work was implicitly crystallized; and now, on the records issued by Victor (M-631, $6.50), it is tumultuous, ferocious. On these records, also, it has a harshness of sound and an occasional blurring of sharp contour which are the fault not of Toscanini but of the place where the recording was made, and therefore of N. B. C., which prefers to broadcast and record Toscanini's performances imperfectly rather than admit that its studio is less than perfect for the purposes. But even with the defects in style and recording the performance has qualities that make any Toscanini performance something to marvel at.

The sounds which come from Stokowski's new set of Debussy's Three Nocturnes (M-630, $6.50) are fabulously beautiful; and on the record of "Fêtes" (2034) they add up to a superb performance of the work, recorded at different volume levels on the two sides and with a break, regrettably, in what should be the continuity of the procession. On the other hand, the lush sonorities on the record of "Nuages" would be better suited to the emotions of that famous "simple, sensuous, passionate being" on the morning after his famous afternoon; and for a performance which conveys the aspect of sky and clouds that Debussy intended one does best to acquire Inghelbrecht's version (Columbia P-69314-D). And "Sirènes" one can neglect entirely. B. H. HAGGIN

FILMS

"PINOCCHIO," Walt Disney's second feature-length picture, is a free version of Collodi's fantasy; it tells the story of the puppet given life by the Blue Fairy and changed into a "real boy" when he proves in many adventures—after initial failures—his truthfulness, courage, and unselfishness. The picture surpasses "Snow White" in many respects though not in all, and presents at least three unforgettable characters: the amorous cat, the jealous fish, and the pompous, humorous cricket—the puppet's good but not too watchful conscience. Everybody, young and old, the world over will enjoy them thoroughly. They steal the show even from Pinocchio himself, who cannot compete with their personalities—the emphasis being on his adventures and not on him as an individual.

There is a variety of fantastic milieus: the woodcarver's shop full of clocks as only Disney can construct them; Stromboli's stage show with the best dancers yet produced; Pleasure Island, where children are allowed to behave like the villains they are, to smash mirrors and whole houses, to drink beer, and to smoke thick cigars, and are finally turned into jackasses—a scene of unsurpassed dramatic power; the journey to the bottom of the sea; the sojourn in the belly of the whale and the escape. Each sequence is full of life, satirical comment, color, and movement. Moreover, the sequences follow one other in a grand rhythm, yet, paradoxically,

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the whole picture seems smaller than its parts. The paradox is not difficult to explain. After achieving the creation and perfection of the cartoon film, Walt Disney is still on his way. He has worked out his means and is master of his technique. With "Snow White" he accomplished the step from the short to the full-length picture. "Pinocchio," with its variety of milieu and action, gives him the occasion to consolidate his technical position. It is, because of this same variety, a less homogeneous story. One misses some of the relaxation which the lyrical parts of "Snow White" provided, and also its stronger central idea. That this is so in spite of the excellence of detail shows only how far the cartoon film has once more been advanced. It is now equal to any theme. Consequently attention and demand are already shifting from the form to the content.

After "Pinocchio" one looks forward to "Fantasia," announced as Walt Disney's next production, with excitement. He will understand that we do not call him a "timeless genius," or "Pinocchio" the happiest event since the Armistice or even since the outbreak of the present European war. He shows in his work too great a sense of proportion not to smile to himself at the labels pinned on him and his productions. He is obviously far from his own goal and will therefore take extravagant notices—they differ from the reactions of the audience, which left "Pinocchio" in a divided mood, half smiling, half bewildered—not at their face value but as a symptom of escapist tendencies in a cruel time.

"The Fighting 69th" (Warner Brothers) is "Angels with Dirty Faces" all over again, in a war setting and sprinkled with historical incident and patriotism. James Cagney plays his bad East Side boy and Pat O'Brien the noble priest who never gives up trying to save him. The boy is as tough, cynical, and lonesome as ever, always ready to pick a fight behind the trenches, but shell-fire he cannot bear. He deserts, is caught, and is sentenced to death, only to escape in the last moment, this time to the front to die as a hero. Cagney is excellent. The variety of his expressions of fear is frightening. Otherwise the picture is a concoction which misuses a great theme by selling in new guise the stale melodramatics of the gangster films.

In "The Shop Around the Corner" (MGM) one finds genuine entertainment. Here is Ernst Lubitsch at his best, exploiting the good hearts and little peculiarities of nice average people. One is amused from beginning to end without being interrupted by stupidities or tastelessness. James Stewart plays a romantic inhibited salesman to perfection. Frank Morgan, Felix Bressart, Joseph Schildkraut, and Margaret Sullavan make up a most amiable supporting cast.

FRANZ HOELLERING

In Early Issues of The Nation

Hermann Rauschning's "THE VOICE OF DESTRUCTION"
Reviewed by Franz Hoellering

Erskine Caldwell's "TROUBLE IN JULY"
Reviewed by Margaret Marshall

Elizabeth Wiskemann's "PRELUDE TO WAR"
Reviewed by Rustem Vambery

Peter Quennell's "CAROLINE OF ENGLAND"
Reviewed by Louis Kronenberger

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Letters to the Editors

Polls and Politics

Dear Sirs: Writing from the standpoint of one with some experience in social and regional surveys I must agree with much of what James Wechsler said in his article on Polling America in your January 20 issue.

No one with any experience with newspapers can deny the implicit pressure, not to say censorship, of a predominantly conservative press. But it must be conceded that most of this censorship is honestly exerted. The same forces that have served to insulate the politician have isolated the editor from large sections of his community. He honestly doubts any poll which does not reflect the conservative trend of the only class with which he has any extensive contacts.

But Wechsler, in common with most commentators on the polls and, indeed, with many professional statisticians as well, falls into one very bad error. This is best illustrated in his comment that because Roper employs only 72 persons, whom he knows intimately, as against Gallup's 1,000, mostly unknown to him, "if one or two of his staff go wrong, their defections will have proportionately greater impact on the result." This is to ignore the difference in the probability of error. Roper can virtually eliminate field errors by careful personal choice of staff, adequate training, and close personal supervision. The very size and distribution of Gallup's staff means that most of them must have been selected on the recommendation of persons who themselves may have no comprehension of the requirements of statistical surveys (in one case I know, the town preacher). Whether or not Gallup can "guarantee their integrity" is beside the point. Chosen haphazardly, insufficiently trained and supervised, they will inevitably make major field errors, and these errors will not counterbalance one another. For reference, look at the individual state errors in Gallup's 1936 poll. The greater accuracy of Roper's 1936 Presidential poll was not entirely chance.

All poll critics overlook the value of personal field experience to the poll-taker. Only by actual participation in the field work is the chief in a position to interpret results properly. Roper's habit of doing some of his own field work gives him a check that Gallup cannot hope to duplicate.

Finally, no one can hope to make a good survey in an area with which he has no more than a casual tourist's acquaintance or simply book knowledge, or on a subject or situation with which he is not thoroughly familiar. Gallup's accuracy in New York elections speaks well for his current knowledge of that area and its politics. His results in my own more distant state of Minnesota have not been so felicitous. In 1936 he predicted that Roosevelt would get 50 per cent of the vote. The final count revealed a landslide of 62 per cent. Worse yet, he claimed to have found this summer that 81 per cent of Minnesota voters approved of our present Republican Governor, Harold Stassen. No one with an accurate knowledge of Minnesota politics would have released such a result. No candidate for governor in Minnesota has ever received over 60 per cent of the vote; and that includes the much more popular Floyd B. Olson. Indeed, as part of one of my own polls, I made a very careful check with a similar question and found that 45 per cent, not 81 per cent, actually approve of Stassen's administration.

Before closing let me emphasize that I believe implicitly in the personal integrity of both Roper and Gallup. But I also believe that Gallup is endangering his own prestige and the standing of polls in general by mass-production methods unsuited as yet to statistical surveys, and by expansion into local surveys where his knowledge, experience, and supervision are inadequate.

C. T. WASSON

St. Paul, Minn., February 9

Pacifist Defense

Dear Sirs: As I am a pacifist, a Socialist, and an Englishman, I may be excused for feeling some indignation at the assumptions which Reinhold Niebuhr, in *The Nation* for January 20, makes about pacifism, socialism, and England. The whole of his essay seems to me to be emotive rather than factual. I will content myself with a few citations from Mr. Niebuhr about pacifism. "The pacifists measure them [the evils of capitalist society] against an ideal world in which there will be neither coercion nor resistance"; "[their] attitude of irresponsibility . . . religious perfectionism"; "a religious and moral absolute such as perfect love"; "the disinclination of the pacifists to look at the horrible consequences of tyranny"; "the attitude of cynicism prompted by a disappointed idealism is morally intolerable. But that is a lesson which our present generation of college students has yet to learn"; "pacifism is all the more popular in the churches because it is unconsciously mixed with the national fear of being involved in the war."

Mr. Niebuhr would not speak so glibly of "the pacifists" if he were really acquainted with their views. The curious opinions he imputes to them may be held by someone somewhere, but they are not the opinions of most pacifists in Europe or in America. If Mr. Niebuhr thirsts for knowledge let him reread Huxley's "Ends and Means" and Bertrand Russell's "Which Way to Peace?"

I am not a cynic or an idealist, either in the philosophic or the ethical sense. I don't want to discuss the absolute of perfect love, but it was Mr. Niebuhr's Jesus, not a modern socialist, who said "Be ye perfect." Indeed, I am perfectly satisfied to think in terms of "relative tyranny and relative democracy." Nor do I look to find a world in which there is no resistance. Nor do I care that pacifism is the more popular because there is a national fear of being involved in war. I am glad the people fear being involved in war.

I think college students are wiser than their elders if the chief plank in their platform is "Keep America out of war" and if they consistently urge the United States government to avoid entanglements with the Allied cause. That does not disincline them "to look at the horrible consequences of tyranny" in the German Reich, or even in the treatment meted out to the Negroes in America or to the natives in India.

E. RUSSELL BENTLEY

New Haven, Conn., February 7

More Birthday Greetings

Dear Sirs: Radicals believe in yanking things up by their roots and remaking them. Liberals believe growing organisms can be shaped and directed by continuous and judicious fertilizing, grafting, and pruning. Conservatives believe the social organism should be let

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alone to follow solely its past habits of growth. The liberal belief in the possibility of social improvement by a continuous series of changes in the right direction is thus under continuous cross-fire, from the conservatives who oppose change and from the radicals who wish complete change.

The Nation's greatest strength has been in its continuous espousal of this middle yet forward-looking position. Liberals come to power are only too likely to be appalled by the magnitude of social problems and the slowness with which efforts to correct them can take hold. *The Nation* has put constant pressure on liberals in power to prevent their becoming "tired liberals" and, therefore, ineffective ones. Liberal programs are under constant attack and sabotage by conservative groups and vested interests, often on a basis of misunderstanding and lack of knowledge. *The Nation* has kept a continuous spotlight upon the activities of such groups, has emphasized the real points at issue, and thus has helped to illumine and clarify the problem. At the other extreme, *The Nation* has paid equal attention to the program and objectives of radical groups, and tried to distinguish clearly between the aid they could give to progressive social action and extreme programs which might actually tend to block helpful liberal progress.

In the confused world of today the position of the liberal is often a lonely one. Power politics, authoritarian ideologies, and extravagant nationalisms are muddying the waters of doctrine, social and economic action, and international affairs alike. The liberal can easily decide whom or what to dislike or distrust. He finds it harder and more hazardous to decide whom he likes or whom he can trust. Liberals need inspiration, information, and guidance more than ever in such troubled times. I hope *The Nation* will long continue as one of the major focal centers in this field.

MORDECAI EZEKIEL

Washington

Dear Sirs: Congratulations for *The Nation* on its seventy-fifth birthday are congratulations for the vitality of a democratic people's will to know the whole truth about themselves.

Ever since I was aware that the daily grist of print did not select for emphasis the things that were really important, or did not tell me all I felt I needed to know about those things, I have been reading *The Nation* to be sure of perspective. In the last few years in particular, *The Nation's* determined realism about affairs in Europe and Asia has been an indispensable corrective to an Irishman's optimistic instincts.

In wishing you many more birthdays I am wishing help to all who want to know. THOMAS G. CORCORAN

Washington

Dear Sirs: I am pleased to send my greetings on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of your magazine, wishing you may always remain as you are at present—ripe but young.

Paris JUAN NEGRIN

Dear Sirs: I consider *The Nation,* without flattery, one of the most important and significant organs of contemporary thought in the world. I do not always agree with it. I feel that *The Nation* has at times been swayed by influences which were not perhaps always favorable to the principles of our civilization, today so gravely menaced. But its errors, when it has committed them, have never been systematic. And it has proved over a long past that it always finally finds the right road again. I believe that it will continue to be a record of our era and a guide for our generation.

JULES ROMAINS

Saint-Avertin, France

Dear Sirs: It is a pleasure and a privilege to join in congratulating *The Nation* on its seventy-fifth birthday. I have been reading it since my high-school days and would feel lost if a week went by without my copy. Even when I was in the army during the World War, I somehow managed to get hold of it now and then and enjoyed its stimulating and informative contents.

I don't always agree with *The Nation's* articles and editorial views. In fact, sometimes I think they are pretty screwy, especially some of the pieces by elder "statesmen" who do more ranting than reasoning. But the magazine is a vital and necessary factor in our country, and its undiminished existence for many, many more birthdays can only be the wish of every patriotic American.

Washington ROBERT S. ALLEN

Dear Sirs: I congratulate *The Nation* on its seventy-fifth anniversary. It represents one of the finest characteristics of the Union, fearless and independent opinion. If I had not sometimes disagreed with *The Nation,* I should not so much value the times when it has expressed my own opinion. It hews to no "party line," thank God, and speaks for this country and for no other, though its sympathies are international. It's a first-rate fighting periodical, and I wish it well. WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT

New York

Dear Sirs: My enthusiastic, if somewhat belated, congratulations on *The Nation's* seventy-fifth birthday. It is the liveliest youngster that comes weekly to this house, and controversy only gives added verve to its youth. I can't pay it any higher tribute than to tell you it is the one paper which is my week-end necessity. And that is true whether I am lecturing up and down the country or rusticating on my mountain farm. I expect to be stimulated by it for at least another seventy-five years.

LOUIS UNTERMEYER

Elizabethtown, N. Y.

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